United Farm Workers Union Journal

1972-1973

by James J. Horgan

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July 6, 1994

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UFW Journal, 1972-1973

by James J. Horgan

Introduction

This is a journal I am typing up from letters of the time I spend as national director of research on the staff of the United Farm Workers Union, based at its headquarters (called La Paz) in Keene, California, from the summer of 1972 to the summer of 1973.

I had first become active with the UFW during the grape boycott in the summer of 1970, working in Cincinnati, Ohio. I got involved by chance. I was active in the civil rights movement in Florida as a founding officer of the Pasco County NAACP (since January of 1968). In June of 1970, the national convention of the NAACP was to take place in Cincinnati, and I had been sent as a delegate from the Pasco County branch. As I was going into the convention center, I noticed several people handing out leaflets at the door, asking delegates to support the boycott of California table grapes in behalf of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Organizing Committee, then on strike against the table grape growers. The leafleters had come on the assumption that the NAACP would be sympathetic, and that was the case. I was surprised to see that the head of the UFW boycott campaign in Cincinnati was John Bank, a college classmate of mine from the Athenaeum of Ohio (1958-1962), whom I had not seen since that time. He was a full-time member of the union staff. So instead of returning to Florida after the week-long NAACP convention, I spent the remaining two months of the summer working with him on the UFW staff for the Cincinnati grape boycott.

I returned to Cincinnati while on Thanksgiving break from Saint Leo College in November 1970, when I met Cesar Chavez for the first time. He had come to the city to promote the boycott. When I spoke with him about Florida, he asked me to gather whatever information I could on Florida agriculture.

During the summer of 1971, I spent two months doing agricultural corporate research in Florida for the UFW (looking into the state's largest citrus companies) and sending reports to Cesar's assistant Jim Drake in California.

By the summer of 1972, I had been teaching at Saint Leo College for seven years (since August 15, 1965). So I took a one-year sabbatical from Saint Leo for 1972-1973 to work full-time with the union in California.

I became the head of the UFW's research department (and for much of the time the only person doing agricultural economic research for the union). As things developed, most of what I was compiling (company profiles, analyses of the table grape and wine grape industries, cost studies of growers' profits in various crops, and similar things) was geared to negotiations for the renewal of UFW contracts. I spend a lot of time in courthouses gathering information and a lot of time in negotiating sessions with growers.

It was a constant atmosphere of crisis for the union, particularly in two difficult struggles in the fall of 1972 and the spring of 1973.

In the fall of 1972, the staff spend a great deal of time in political organizing to defeat a Calfornia ballot proposal called Proposition 22, which would have enacted a very strict anti-farm labor union bill. The campaign was successful and Proposition 22 was defeated. But then most of the contract negotiations were frustrated when the growers refused to renew (including major companies like Gallo Wines and all but two of the approximately 175 table grape growers with whom it had signed three-year contracts in 1970 in the culminating year of the successful nationwide table grape boycott). Instead most signed what we regarded as "sweetheart contracts" with the Teamsters Union in the spring of 1973. The UFW then called a general strike in the table grape fields and renewed its boycott of table grapes, but was not successful in

winning contracts.

I did a lot of traveling around the state, but I was based at La Paz, the name for the UFW's national headquarters, which is in the Tehachepi Mountains near the town of Keene, California. It's about 25 miles southeast of Bakersfield (which is at the southern end of California's Great Central Valley, formally known as the San Joaquin Valley -- a very rich agricultural area) and about 100 miles north of Los Angeles. La Paz is a large complex of many buildings and was formerly a tuberculosis sanatorium, in use from about the 1920s or 1930s through the 1950s, when T. B. was a national scourge and the medical community believed that mountain country air would be helpful in retarding the disease. Antibiotics ultimately proved to be the thing which eliminated tuberculosis as a major disease. The sanatorium was abandoned in the 1950s and the United Farm Workers Union purchased it about 1970 for a headquarters.

The central UFW departments are located there: administration, the national boycott office, field office coordination, the negotiations and research departments, the credit union, the farm worker service center HQ, the administrative offices of the UFW's pension, insurance, and medical plans, and its newspaper El Malcriado ("The Angry Child") and printing presses, as well as Cesar Chavez's own house for himself and his family, and housing for all of the central staff -- perhaps 100 or so people, including family members.

When I joined the staff of the UFW in the summer of 1972, the union had about 180 labor agreements covering approximately 39,000 workers. When I returned to Florida in the summer of 1973, the UFW had been reduced to about 12 contracts, covering perhaps 6,500 workers.

For me, it was a tremendous year nonetheless. And it gave me a feeling of satisfaction that the things I did made a contribution in changing people's lives for the

better.

Since I returned to Florida, I have continued to be active with the UFW in assisting the Florida operations, particularly the workers at Coca-Cola Minutemaid citrus groves.

This journal covers the period from July of 1972 to July of 1973. It begins on the road to California. I drove my 1970 Ford Mustang from my home in San Antonio, Florida, to St. Louis, to stop in and see my parents, and from there to California.

James J. Horgan

Saint Leo College

March 4, 1994

James J. Horgan and Cesar Chavez -- Cincinnati, Ohio, November 28, 1970

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca 93531 • (805) 822-5571

Friday - August 4, 197

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Saturday - April 14, 197

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July 14, 1972

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Wednesday - June 6, 1973

BOYCOTT CENTRAL

Friday - January 5, 197

NEGOTIATIONS DEPARTMENT
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P. O. BOX 62
KEENE, CALIF. 93531

June 19, 1973

United Farm Worker
Organizing Committee/AFL-CI

Cesar E. Chavez, Director Larry Itliong, Asst. Director

P.O. Box 130 Delano CA 93215 (805) 725-9703

Day - May 28, 1973

July 1972

July 5, 1972 -- Here I am in Tucumcari, New Mexico, completely incoherent. I left St. Louis at 8:30 this morning and got here after 14 hours and 940 miles. The past 200 miles, especially in north Texas, was really desolate -- the little towns reminded me of "The Last Picture Show." But it's really pretty country.

The motel I've stopped at -- The Blue Swallow -- cost $3.18. No phone or TV, and a shared bath with the people in the next room. Tucumcari is just an isolated motel station on US Highway 66 -- there seem to be hundreds in the town -- with wide open country to the east and west.

July 6, 1972 -- I got into Phoenix, Arizona tonight at six after 10 hours from Tucumcari. I finally got to the Santa Rita Center and met 10-12 union people: Peter from Vancouver, Jan from California, Rudy and Pat from Phoenix, Gus "from the peach strike." Lots of spirit. There are something like 100 people working throughout the state, all concentrating on the recall petition campaign of Gov. Jack Williams. They have 47,000 or so signatures (someone said 60,000) of the 103,000 needed. I sat in on a local meeting of the door-to-door canvassers -- there are 15 committees covering all the neighborhoods in Phoenix, plus Tucson, Flagstaff, and all over the state. It's really well organized.

The local group is putting me up for the night at their house on Tonto Street. They all seem well experienced and in good spirits. Jim Drake (the person with whom I made the arrangements to join the UFW staff) is expected tomorrow from Flagstaff. Also Cesar, who's coming in for a Mass and rally tomorrow night and tour of the state.

I don't know how long I'll be here. It's 106° outside.

July 7, 1972 -- I'm still in Phoenix, but it's 11:45 p.m. and we're leaving for La Paz at 4:00 a.m. to beat the desert.

I'm staying with Cesar and his four guards at the home of some friends of the union here.

I had a talk with Cesar today about what he wants me to do -- research in La Paz. More on this tomorrow.

July 8, 1972 -- I arrived at the headquarters of the United Farm Workers Union -- called La Paz (Peace) -- in the small settlement of Keene, California, in the Tehachepi Mountains about a half-hour's drive from Bakersfield and about 100 miles northeast of Los Angeles.

Susan Drake, Cesar Chavez' main secretary, was taking me around and introducing me as "our research department." One of Jim Drake's assistants -- Sr. Pearl McGivney -- was showing me all the research stuff. She's been organizing it a little, but everyone is spread so thin now that no one is doing much with the material. They have very high hopes for me here. What research material there is is pretty slim, disorganized, and not digested.

It's 500 miles to La Paz from Phoenix. We left at 4:30 a.m. and got here at 1:00 p.m. after 8 1/2 hours. It's practically all Mojave Desert, but we avoided the 110° heat.

I came over with Phil Farnum, who was with the union in 1964-1967, left to do G. I. war resistance organizing for the next 3-4 years, and for the past year or two has been working in cannery plants in Tacoma, Washington, with four other people organizing working class people. He was with Drake in the Migrant Ministry in the early 1960s and is a real Alinsky type. We had a good discussion all the way in the car.

Yesterday, I met a lot of other Phoenix people -- Gus Guttierez, who's running the peach strike in Douglas, Gerard and Jean from Switzerland, Bob Monty and Fred, two black organizers from Georgia, who are surveying the UFW approach to organizing, and all kinds of other people, including Cesar's four guards -- Nick Jones (who knew Saint Leo student Chris Byrne, now a Y.I.P., when he was with the Chicago boycott), Richard, Joe, and Lupe. I was even doing some security work with them, walking around steely-eyed at a cocktail party around Cesar, and mainly watching their two station wagons so they didn't have to detach one of their men to do it.

Cesar came in to Phoenix early yesterday for the start of an 18-day tour of the state. There were about 40 union staff members (of the 60-70 working full-time on the recall campaign). They're really organized -- each with districts in the city and local committees and deputy voter registrars going house-to-house for signatures. They've now got just over 50,000 of the 103,000 needed.

In the afternoon, I went over to the house where Cesar was staying (the Washburn family at 23 Pasadena -- they invited me to stay overnight "anytime"). We sat around in the living room with the guards and the two German Shepherds Cesar is traveling with -- "Boycott" and "Red." Two others -- "Max" and "Huelga" (which means "Strike" in Spanish) -- stayed at La Paz. We waited until two other groups (Gus reporting on the peach strike and the two black guys from Georgia) were done, and then I talked with him alone for a half hour in his bedroom-office.

Cesar said he wanted me to organize a research department and concentrate in three areas, and perhaps a fourth:

1. Location of farm workers and crops in all states -- how many are where, picking what at any given time;

2. Cost analyses of current contracts, so that when they expire we'll be in a

better position to negotiate with the growers, knowing how much exactly they're making;

3. Immediate reactions to various boycott situations that may come up, so that we'll be able to do a quick research job on any companies that may be needed;

4. Also maybe some analysis of mechanization in various crops.

For now, he wants me to look all the stuff over and then we'll meet on it when he gets back from Arizona.

After that, there was a meeting at the Santa Rita Center and a 10-minute march to another place for a Mass (led by a mariachi band singing "De Colores"). I was watching the two cars during the Mass and playing with "Red" (fetch-the-stick). "Boycott" was inside with Cesar. Then we went over to a fund-raising party given by Ev King, a local wealthy supporter. There were about 200 people in the back yard. Cesar spoke for a few minutes, and everybody brought up money, probably more than $1,000.00. Then back to the Washburns' house, where the man up on guard duty woke us up at 4:00 a.m. for the trip here.

July 9, 1972 -- Today I recovered from the trip. I slept 15 hours last night.

I've been staying with Andy Anzaldua, Cesar's assistant, who is in charge while he is in Arizona. Today I made a bonanza button trade with him and got the two union buttons I had most been looking for: an NFWA button from 1965 (the first name the UFW used when it was founded in 1962 -- "National Farm Workers Association"); and the "Boycott the Hell Out of Them" with Cesar's picture on it from his 1970 jailing in Salinas, California, during the lettuce strike and boycott. Also I got "Cesar Chavez for Governor," used when Ronald Reagan was running in 1970, and "UFWOC Si, Teamsters No" from Salinas 1970 (the second name the UFW used, when it was known as the "United Farm Workers Organizing Committee" before it gained AFL-CIO status as a

NFWA
DELANO
BOYCOTT
GRAPES
CESAR
CHAVEZ
FOR
GOVERNOR
VIVA
Year of the Farm Worker
HUELGA
VIVA CESAR CHAVEZ
VICTORIA EN MIAMI
NONVIOLENT ACTION
UFWOC AFL-CIO
CESAR CHAVEZ, LARRY HILDEBRAND
LA HUELGA
STOP
UFWOC SI!
Teamsters No!
BOYCOTT!
NON UNION
LETTUCE
MI RAZA PRIMERO
VIVA
LA CAUSA
UFWOC AFL-CIO
BOYCOTT THE HELL OUT OF THE
SUPPORT
YEAR OF THE CAMPESINO
BOYCOTT
SCAB
CARNA
UNIDOS
ONE UNION FOR FARM WORKERS
FARM WORKERS
UNION
AFL-CIO

distinct national union rather than an "organizing committee"). For these I gave up a McGovern/Women's Symbol button, two Florida-California UFW bottons, two with the faces of Emiliano Zapata, Martin Luther King, and John F. Kennedy ("One Union for Farm Workers"), plus a "Boycott Scab Grapes," a "Fresno County General Strike," and a "Mabuhay Pinoy" (celebrating Filipino workers) -- all duplicates for me.

I got to meet and talk with several more people today. Spirit and competence and friendliness are really high.

July 10, 1972 -- Today I spent my first full day at the files -- locating what we have and going through it to get a rough familiarity. We have a basic set by state, by crop, and by company, plus a lot of miscellaneous material and dozens of magazines and newspapers. So for the next couple of weeks, I'll read the files, organize the magazines, and digest what I can, while keeping up the current clipping and filing of the stuff that comes in every day. Already three quick reasearch jobs have come up: on the Tejon Ranch, the Blackwell Land Company, and Superior Farming Company -- all of which we're doing some current work on.

Many of the staff members are gathering at Andy Anzaldua's house in the evenings to watch the New York City Democratic National Convention on TV. (He has one of the few TV sets at La Paz.) It was really something today. During one of the roll calls, the NY delegation announced: "New York, the state which is boycotting non-union lettuce, casts . . ." And then Oregon, during the California seating roll call, said: "Oregon, which is not only boycotting non-union lettuce, but which boycotted grapes in 1968, casts . . ." And then the big "Boycott Lettuce" banner in the California delegation. And on the Illinois roll call, which kicked our Mayor Richard Daley (shown here at only 1:30 a.m. our time v. 4:30 a.m. in the East), NY said: "New York, the largest state which is boycotting non-union lettuce . . ." There were six or seven of us

watching, and we went wild. Everyone is solid McGovern here. Andy was a delegate to the 1968 convention (before he was with the union) and voted for McGovern even then. People here know a lot of the California and other delegates. Among the delegates are the UFW's Richard Chavez, Cesar's brother, and Dolores Huerta, whom we saw interviewed by CBS. We really felt good. It's easier for us to catch everything, with the three-hour time break.

July 11, 1972 -- Today I met David Burciaga, the union's principal negotiator, and I'll be doing some research work for him on White River Farms and on wine grape mechanization. He's negotiating the renewal of a contract with them. Very affable and sharp. He told me that even after all these years, we don't have an ownership map showing all the growers of Kern County (the one we're in -- one of the richest agricultural areas in the United States). So tomorrow I'm going to Bakersfield to work on it.

I also wrote off to the Carpenters District Council of St. Louis -- they've put out a bumper sticker saying: "Hardhats for the Lettuce Boycott" -- and I asked for several for me and the staff here. (But I never got a reply.)

July 12, 1972 -- I'm writing this just after the balloting for the Democratic presidential nomination, which selected George McGovern. There are a bunch of people here and everyone is pleased, but it is somewhat anticlimactic compared to the tension over Monday's California delegation seating. (This is Wednesday.) Everybody is amazed at how much support the boycott is getting: New York, Oregon, Tennessee, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Ohio, Colorado, and I think Massachusetts -- all mentioned it during roll calls, plus the big California banner, and all kinds of signs and flags. It's really something.

Today I spent the day in the Kern County Tax Assessor's office trying to plot

EL PUEBLO CON McGOVERN

Paliticians have been ignaring the needs of the people for years. They come ta us for just one reason --- they want our vote. Only SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN has taken the time and trouble to find aut the needs af the peaple.

SENATOR McGOVERN WENT TO VIETNAM TO FIND OUT FIRST HAND WHAT WAS GOING ON THERE. HE DIDN'T LIKE IT, AND HAD THE COURAGE TO SPEAK OUT AGAINST THE WAR YEARS AGO!

SENATOR McGOVERN ALSO MARCHED WITH THE FARM WORKERS ON STRIKE IN SALINAS, ARIZONA, AND FLORIDA!

Senatar McGavern is the anly candidate wha has spoken aut angrily in every instance against the daily injustices that are being committed against the working peaple and ather poor.

The Administratian for the past eight years has used your hard-earned tax money to:

—KILL AND DESTROY HUMAN LIFE IN VIETNAM --- but there is not enough money for better schools and education, decent hausing, or jobs in the U.S.

— HAND OUT MORE THAN A BILLION DOLLARS IN SUBSIDY GIFTS TO AGRIBUSINESS AND OTHER CORPORATIONS SUCH AS PENN. CENTRAL --- which should have gone ta the people directly to pravide jobs in housing and public warks; far medical care, education and housing.

—ALLOW PRICES TO GO UP AND UP --- but wages af the warking man are frozen. Even though people wark hard, they cannat support themselves.

—ALLOW AGENCIES SUCH AS IMMIGRATION TO HARASS PEOPLE --- rather than give the community proper protectian.

Give Your Voter Strength to Join the Cause for Social Justice

VOTE JUNE 6 VOTE McGOVERN

If yau can help --- call ar visit:

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Fresno, California
507 N. Fultan
(209) 266-9831

San Jase, Califarnia
204 S. King
(408) 255-7866

Stacktan, Califarnia
1603 Pacific Street
(209) 948-6554

the acreage of four companies we're currently interested in. After all these years we don't even have a map showing all the big local growers around here -- no one's had time to do it -- it's pretty arduous work.

The union puts out a newspaper every two weeks called El Malcriado ("The Angry Child"). Initially there were individual subscriptions, but now the focus is on using the distribution of the newspaper as an organizing device. What they're doing is trying to get as many people around the country -- in farm worker areas and in cities among supporters -- to take a bundle of 50 for $5.00 and then sell them for ten cents a copy. People doing this on a regular basis would provide us with the nucleus of a good nationwide organization for awareness of the boycotts and help in legislative campaigns, and so on. It's part of the UFW's philosophy of using every means to build an organization. Sr. Pearl McGivney is in charge of the campaign. She had been Jim Drake's assistant and was doing a lot of research filing. She's the one who looked on me as the "savior" who would free her from that hassle. There are three or four other sisters here from New York and Colorado and other places -- all very competent.

July 13, 1972 -- At the Democratic National Convention, Ted Kennedy has just come on to present George McGovern as the nominee. (David Kennedy, one of Bobby's kids, is said to be on his way here to work at La Paz for a while.) He just said: "Mr. Chairman, delegates, and fellow lettuce boycotters . . ." We all screamed. Cesar got three votes from New Mexico for Vice President. The whole farm worker thing there is unreal. It's the issue of the convention.

I've had a touch of the flu today, but I was still able to cut all the clipping from the past two weeks on agricultural articles. We get about 75 growers' magazines and newspapers.

George McGovern visited La Paz in June during the California primary

campaign. (This was a few weeks before I arrived here.) I was able to get an 8 x 10" copy of a photo of him walking along the La Paz grounds with Cesar and Cesar's brother Richard.

July 14, 1972 -- I am 32 years old today. I spent the day doing clippings from growers' magazines on agricultural articles that looked like they might be helpful.

July 15, 1972 -- I've been here a week now. I'm getting pretty tired of magazine clippings, but it's the only way to get familiar with all our material. After I get an idea of all the information we have, I'll be able to do broader studies and company profiles.

All the people here work long and steady -- 53 hours a week officially: 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. during the week and 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. on Saturdays, plus all kinds of other things that come up. But it's a cause, and everyone here is committed and involved all the time.

I'm still staying with Andy Anzaldua and have gotten to know him pretty well. He's got lots of humor and spirit, and as Cesar's assistant, good knowledge and background on what's happening all over with the union.

July 16, 1972 -- Today a bunch of us feasted on some venison at Andy's place.

I'm getting pretty fed up with the clipping business. I've got to get back to those overall projects, plus a few company studies, tomorrow.

Two Jesuit priests are now staying in the Anzaldua house here. One is from Mexico and he'll be here for three months or so as a chaplain. The other is a man named Jim Vizzard, who apparently goes back to the 1940s in the farm worker scene, working for the Catholic Rural Life Conference in Washington, testifying before congressional committees, writing articles, and so on. He's known Cesar since 1954, plus virtually everybody who's been involved in various movements for the past 30

Richard Chavez, Cesar Chavez, and Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern at UFW headquarters (La Paz), Keene, California, June 1972.

years, he says. He drops a lot of names, but he seems to be a pretty good sort. He says he plans to spend the rest of his life here at La Paz. (He's 56.) His specialty is lobbying and legislation, so he'll be working against the initiative the growers were successful in getting on the California ballot for the November election. It's one of those "California propositions" (the state is famous for having a dozen or more initiatives on the ballot every election) and calls for a repressive farm labor law worse than Arizona's. The growers got more than the 325,000 signatures it took to get it on the ballot.

The Phoenix Recall Governor Williams campaign now has 60,000 signatures. It takes 103,000 to force him to stand for election again before his term expires.

Today we had trouble with David Kennedy, Bobby's 17-year-old son. He's really arrogant and self-serving, not like his brother Joe (who gave an impressive interview on the Dick Cavett Show and made a rousing speech in Phoenix at the end of Cesar's fast in June). His mother Ethel, a close friend of Cesar's because Robert Kennedy was such a good friend to the UFW, evidently sent him here in the belief that exposure to a movement like this would do him some good. While Andy was out, I got a call from the woman who runs the local general store in Keene. She complained about two teenagers who cursed the woman on duty up and down when she refused to cash traveler's checks for them (because she would have to take the loss if they were phoney). The kids she described turned out to be David Kennedy and a friend he's traveling with (who were heard boasting about it to themselves in the cafeteria). They're planning to leave tomorrow anyway, after a three-day stay. I think Andy's going to blast them before they take off.

July 17, 1972 -- Today I dashed around on Cochise Farms' holdings in Arizona, where there's a current peach strike. And I also did a few clippings and button trades.

Tomorrow David Burciaga has asked me to attend the negotiating session with White River Farms in Bakersfield, at the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley and the base of the Tehachepi Mountains, where we are -- about a half-hour's drive to the north.

July 18, 1972 -- Today we had our negotiating session with White River Farms. We met in one of those plush meeting rooms in the Bakersfield Inn. There were nine of us: David Burciaga, the union's chief negotiator for this area; Gilbert Padilla from Fresno, who's been with the union from the early days of 1963 or 1964; the six-man White River UFW Ranch Committee; and me. White River Farms had four representatives: two company executives, their adviser, and their secretary (who also participated in the discussion occasionally, I was glad to see).

We began about 10:30 a.m. and finished at 4:45 p.m., after numerous breaks to discuss things and also to stretch the time out. Everyone was friendly and on a first-name basis, with even light humor back and forth. David continually smiled as he spoke (almost Oriental -- not meaning a negative stereotype -- as he crinkled his eyes), and Padilla was the only one who was outwardly belligerent on occasion, but with humor also. The growers were all very smooth and unflappable. They had paid for the room and provided coffee and very nice Danish pastries for all.

White River is a subsidiary of Buttes Gas & Oil (31 million gross acres all over the country -- maybe net ownership of several hundred thousand, since I think it's mostly mineral rights) and grows 4,600 acres of all kinds of wine grapes in and around Delano (the UFW's original starting place, just north of Bakersfield). This is property it bought from the Schenley Company, with whom the United Farm Workers got its very first contract in 1966. They sold to White River in 1971.

The main point of today's discussion was mechanization, which is rapidly coming

in among wine grapes. The company wants to mechanize 600 acres this year, 1,200 by 1973, and 1,800 of its 4,600 by 1975, which it says will be the limit of its mechanization. Today's was the fourth session of negotiations, which began in early June after our contract expired. We have no real hope that they will accept our position -- no machines -- without a strike and a boycott threat (on Guild Wines) when the harvest starts in September.

David asked me to come along to talk about mechanization, since I had been reading up on it. One machine replaces about 80 workers (the figure might be high), and there are several hundred operating in California, which is probably 10-20% mechanized in the wine grape harvest. 75% of the Washington State concord grape harvest is done by machines. California raisins, too. Table grapes are still picked by hand because of the need for delicate placement in the packing box.

We wanted to stretch things out today, prolong discussion (to get closer to the harvest), and also find out more about their exact position and company operations.

They are presently operating 4,200 acres, but they want to pull out 1,500 acres of old low-yield vines, replace them, introduce machines over 35% of their acreage in the next three years, and get up to 4,600 acres of full production by 1978, of which 1,800 will be harvested by machine. They say there will thus be more work in pruning the vines, because of increased acreage, and that the hand harvest will be just what it is this year in tonnage, because of increased yields on the new young vines, in spite of the machines -- that manhours will increase by 5-10% by 1978.

Our position is that this is a lot of bullshit. (But we were very nice and didn't use such language.) Once one machine gets in there, it's almost inevitable that the whole harvest will be mechanized. They're training all their vines to fit the machines. When that's done, it will be impossible for us to strike. And the additional work in

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P. O. BOX 47
KEENE, CALIFORNIA 93531

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7-19 1972

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Twenty-eight and 35/100 DOLLARS

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Tehachapi
Calif. 93561

E Anzaldua

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pruning more acres is much less than the hand harvest they currently have. They kept pleading poor prices and the need to compete. We stressed people and jobs and what's to be done.

They told us a lot about their operation -- we discussed acreage, prices, co-op operations -- but they didn't bend from their premise that machines are here and they need them to compete. They kept trying to say that there'd be more work by 1978 than now, but they didn't deny that the workers were the ones getting squeezed in all this talk of economizing.

Just before we broke up. Judy from their side asked me if I were an attorney. And when I said no, Jack, the consultant, paid her 25 cents. "We had a bet. Your technique was very good," he said. I said thanks. (They are really smooth.)

It was an interesting session. There is a lot at stake. The next meeting will be next week, after David consults with Cesar, who is still in Arizona.

Andy Anzaldua's family is returning soon, so I got moved to another building -- it's just a small room with a bed, sink, chest of drawers, lamp, and closet -- but I'll finally be able to unpack the car.

July 19, 1972 -- Today I did some more work on company profiles of White River Farms and Guild Wines (their major outlet), and also organized the clippings I've been ripping out.

I noticed in the paper that at the Democratic National Convention Cesar got a total of five votes for vice president.

July 20, 1972 -- I picked up some news on some internal problems among the 100 or so people (counting family members) of the La Paz community -- the war between the dog people and the anti-dog coalition. There are 15-20 dogs running around, including five of Cesar's (which include the four German Shepherds "Boycott,"

"Huelga," "Red," and "Max").

David Burciaga told me the other day that Cesar is sometimes called "Cochise" (but not to his face) -- especially when he's being very tough on spending and budgets. He looks almost Indian in some of his pictures, particularly on the "Boycott the Hell Out of Them" button. (1994 Note: Subsequently I never heard anyone use that phrase.)

I found some people to play bridge with tonight, and did well.

July 21, 1972 -- I went down to the Bakersfield Library and spent all day mapping out acreage on companies we're interested in. I really felt like I accomplished something, and it looks tremendous on a map in different colors: Tejon Ranch, 95,000 acres in Kern County; Blackwell Land Company, 24,000 acres; Superior Farming Company, 8,500 acres; Jasmine Groves, 4,000 acres; White Wolfe Corporation, 2,100 acres.

I've been working lately with David Burciaga, who asked me again to come to Monday's negotiating session (this is Friday) with White River Farms. This one should be rougher because they want a quick settlement before the early harvest, which begins in about two weeks. We're not ready to talk seriously until they drop their plan for machines.

I also checked on some things on the Bank of America. Mary Jane Friel, who handles special projects for Cesar (helping him keep his desk clean -- answering thank you's to all the people who wrote letters to the NLRB in behalf of the union, and responding to everyone who has sent in a lettuce pledge, for example) is a Sister of Loretto. (There are about 7-10 nuns working here in various departments, mostly in their twenties and thirties). Her order has a lot of stock in the Bank of America, and at their annual meeting in two weeks, she wants to persuade them to invest it elsewhere, so she's doing a research job on the B of A.

Tonight, after I got back, we had a movie called "King -- A Filmed Memory: Montgomery to Memphis." It was donated by Coretta King, who was here a few months to visit Cesar. (He and Martin Luther King never met.) The film is three hours long, done almost exclusively from news footage, and it is the most powerful movie I've ever seen. It was all in black and white, and they took time to linger over everything -- a half-hour on the bus boycott of 1955-1956, long scenes of confrontations between demonstrators and police, lengthy scenes of the Selma marches, 20 minutes on Chicago and the hate-filled mobs in Cicero, the whole "I Have a Dream" speech and long parts of others, culminating with the funeral. About 80 of us watched it and came away almost speechless.

July 22, 1972 -- I saw a letter today on the bulletin board from Gary Hart, George McGovern's campaign manager. Apparently a few weeks ago, several people here signed a letter asking for clarification about his statement that George Wallace would not be good as VP but might have a place in the McGovern Administration. Hart's letter more or less reiterated just that -- not very satisfactory.

Today David Burciaga and I drove around checking on what crops are on the acreage I mapped of the companies we're interested in. Kern County is really huge: 143 miles wide and 67 miles north to south. We drove around for four hours -- endless fields of grapes, cotton, tree crops, and other stuff. Our main interest -- Buttes Gas & Oil (the parent company of White River Farms) -- has 3,300 acres, mostly cotton and some beets & trees. We also saw signs on some of their property, saying "Waybill Farms -- Buttes G & O Lease." So apparently they have another subsidiary. Tomorrow morning I'll check what the Court House has on it.

The way we find information is amazing. Andrew Cangemi, the main man we're negotiating with on White River Farms (a Buttes subsidiary) has been seen by some

workers driving out toward Buttes' holding in the NW section of the county (the stuff we just checked), which is 50 miles away from White River's wine grape operations, which he ostensibly heads. Also, he recently moved to Wasco, closer to Buttes than White River. Since he's a grape expert, we think Buttes plans to pull out of the cotton (in which there is not much profit) and put in grapes, which he'll supervise. Right now, we're negotiating only for White River's 4,600 acres, but we want coverage for all the holdings of the company -- Buttes' 3,300 acres, plus whatever this new outfit Waybill has.

Tomorrow I'll check all these leases and deals, and then we'll have another session with White River.

July 23, 1972 -- Today (Sunday), I wrote some letters and played bridge in the evening. Tomorrow I've got to do some quick research at the court house in Bakersfield at 8:00 a.m. on Buttes and its subsidiaries and then go over to the negotiating session at the Bakersfield Inn at 10:00 a.m. It should be tough going because they want to settle on their plan for the machines before anything else, and we totally refuse to accept any mechanization. They may break off the talks -- we'd like to keep them going until harvest in two weeks or so, when we'll have more leverage.

July 24, 1972 -- I've been working with David Burciaga for the past 10 days or so. He's really something -- about 45 years old and only about two years with the union, but he's really experienced and pragmatic in the fashion of Saul Alinsky (of the Industrial Areas Foundation, who had a big influence on Cesar's development as an organizer through Fred Ross). Before this, David was a low-income, build-it-yourself (with electrician and plumber etc. teachers) housing director, as well as a CSO organizer (for the chicano-oriented Community Service Organization -- what Cesar was director of in the 1950s), and farm worker, and miscellaneous job-holder. Very quiet,

smooth, smiling, and tough in negotiations. He really knows the workers and deals with them as they are.

In the abortive session with White River Farms this morning, for example (the company didn't show up, as the result of a miscue -- but it's OK for us, since we wanted to stretch out negotiations to get closer to the harvest, anyway), we had a meeting of our own with the five members of the Ranch Committee who came. (A "ranch committee" in UFW parlance is the committee elected by the workers to represent them.) The stalemate issue is harvesting machines. But the Ranch Committee is made up of all year-round workers, mostly irrigators. They don't want to strike to keep the machines out, and thus help the seasonal pickers and also themselves in the long run. Most are thinking of their own jobs and income lost in a strike. One even said we should allow the harvesting machines if the company would agree to keep out automatic, thermostat-controlled irrigation systems (which eliminate irrigators' jobs). This does not say much for "farmworkers-standing-together-against-the-exploitive-growers" solidarity. It's human nature.

It's like those tractor drivers at Coca-Cola in Florida I was talking with last fall (Coca-Cola recognized the UFW in a card-check election in December 1971 and signed a contract in February 1972) who saw this basically as a "pickers' union" (even Harry Ware, with whom I had spent a lot of time talking). They thought they had a good relationship with the company and didn't see any advantage in the union. It's hard to develop issues that will get everyone together. It has to be something that touches them. Burciaga was raising the thing about the automatic irrigation system -- mechanization can eliminate everybody's job. I'm glad I got in with him so quickly. I hope I can learn some things, and help out, too.

I spent most of the day in the Kern County Court House and Hall of Records:

leases and deeds, tax assessor's maps, and registry of fictitious names (for the people behind the subsidiaries we've run across). Buttes Gas & Oil is amazingly complex -- more than 400 lease and deed transactions in the past four years, all to be checked in the next few days. One thing that's come out is that Judy Johnson, the "stenographer" who's been participating in the negotiations, turns out to be a corporate executive. She's really Buttes' representative in the negotiations with its subsidiary White River. (She has not identified herself as such, and mainly takes notes.) I've seen her name as Corporate Secretary of a half-dozen Buttes subsidiaries on leases and deeds today. White River had not told us that someone from its parent company was present.

Cesar is coming back from Arizona tomorrow and I'm doing a run-down on what we know about White River and Buttes (subsidiaries, acreage, boycott possibilities). I like what I've been doing on this much better than those damn clippings, and I feel like I'm doing something worthwhile. But the whole thing and its corporate tangles are really complex.

July 25, 1972 -- Tonight we had a La Paz community meeting, for the first time since I've been here.

Cesar came back from Arizona early this morning, so we had a gathering tonight -- 100 or so people from 7:30 to 10:00. Really high spirit. Lots of singing and humor and a "Delano clap" for everything. (This is a rhythmic unison clap which starts out slow than then builds to a rapid enthusiastic finish. It's the standard UFW style of applause.) The new people were introduced, and Cesar gave a report on his trip through Arizona: 15-20 rallies, with attendance from 200 to 2,000; thousands of new voter registrations and signatures on the Recall Governor Williams petition; trouble getting places to rent us halls, but help from local unions; lots of talks on Indian reservations, with 17,000 new voter registrations on one of them.

We also heard reports on food donations, and the initiative campaign. California will have a proposition on the November ballot sponsored by the Farm Bureau -- a law more repressive than Arizona's, if it passes. I registered to vote the other day. It takes 90 days in the state and 54 in the precinct, so the clerk registered me since I'll have that by the next election.

We also had a report on the lettuce boycott. There's been tremendous publicity as a result of the Democratic National Convention. In Montgomery County (Dayton), Ohio, the three Republican Commissioners passed a resolution for no non-union lettuce in county facilities, saying they didn't want this to be just a Democratic issue. And in Houston, 10 members of N. O. W. went into a restaurant for lunch and asked for no lettuce in their salads, and the waiter said: "Are you kidding? Since the Democratic Convention, I haven't been able to get rid of any of that stuff!"

Also reports from some InterHarvest workers on conditions in Salinas, and a movie produced by NET for Bill Moyers' "This Week" program called "The Human Subsidy" on farm workers in Florida, focusing on the Coke signing and the Talisman sugar strike -- very pro-union.

In addition, I talked with Manuel Chavez (whom I knew from the Coca-Cola organizing campaign in the summer of 1971), who was just passing through. He says he's going to work on the McGovern campaign. I also spoke with Peter Matthiessen (author of Sal Si Puedes, the best book on the UFW). He wants some help researching an article on how government agencies gang up to keep the union and farm workers down. He's going back to New York tomorrow and asked me if I would put together references, articles, and documents for him. I said OK. He said he gives all his profits from such things to the union.

Today I spent checking Buttes leases and activities in the Hall of Records. More

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

August 8, 1972

Peter Matthiessen
Sagatonack
Long Island, New York 11962

Dear Peter:

Here's a preliminary pile of stuff for your article. Sorry to be so late in getting it out to you.

The first part is a section from Ralph Nader's Power and Land in California dealing with farm subsidies. He goes into great detail on the four basic types growers receive: income maintenance, labor, water, and research. Also attached is a list of the more than 1,000 who got over $60,000 in payments in 1969 (which the Nader study also makes reference to).

The second Nader section is on pollution and agriculture, with special focus on pesticides, herbicides, and the whole agribusiness-chemical complex.

The miscellaneous clippings on Earl Butz have a lot of good quotes: "Let's take the Cesar out of our salad." Crop boycotts and "unAmerican" and "vicious." Even the statement, "If we're to save America we'll have to save those people whose feet are implanted in the soil," which really shows his orientation.

Also a couple of things on the assassination plot and the inaction of the Treasury Department.

Finally, Wayne State's most recent selective bibliography, which may touch on some possible sources.

I hope it's all of value. I'll send you some more stuff on the Defense Department, NLRB, Immigration, etc. in a few days.

Sincerely,

Jim Horgan

of the same tomorrow.

July 26, 1972 -- Another day in the Bakersfield Hall of Records on Buttes leases and other deals. I also picked up the last two company Annual Reports at a local stock broker's office. The company is getting into agriculture like mad: 25,00 acres of grapes, tree crops, and row crops in seven different subsidiaries. Three of them operate as what are called "limited partnerships," selling "capital units" to wealthy investors all over the country for as much as $17,300 each (and some investors have 20 or more units) for use as tax shelters -- especially professionals like doctors and lawyers. Each of the three has from 500 to 700 limited partners with such "units."

So it's a big operation, but the problem is how to get them. They don't market their gas under a known specific label, and while they sell all their wine grapes to Guild Wineries, the third largest in California (after Gallo and Italian Swiss Colony), a potential boycott study last summer in cities all across the country found very little Guild wine on the shelves -- sort of like that Napa) stuff we were looking for in 1971 and located very little of when we did find some.

Negotiations continue with White River Farms, with a session tomorrow or Friday. We've now learned they are a big operator, and we want the other acreage. We already have 8,000 or so covered in other contracts. But we have to figure how we can get them. Maybe we can scare them with the threat of a boycott, or trade them an agreement not to go after their other companies if they agree to keep machines out of White River Farms. We'll see.

July 27, 1972 -- Today we had another session with White River Farms. We had the six-man Ranch Committee again, plus David and I, and one of the organizers from Delano. They had the same five from last time, plus someone taking notes. We began about 10:30 a.m. with sparring back and forth on machines and after about a half-hour,

David mentioned: "If we have to go to war, the company will lose a lot of money." That scared them, and after a minute's discussion they asked for a caucus and stayed out for 45 minutes. They came back with what they called an "experimental cooperative plan" for them to introduce one or two machines on 400 acres this year so we could all study the data on how effective it is on various varieties of grapes, how many workers it replaces, etc. "Machines are coming anyway, and this plan could be a model for the industry with accurate figures on its impact." What a deal! David said he'd have to take it to the Board of Directors of the Union -- which was then meeting all day. So we adjourned until next week. The plan is really unacceptable. We can't accept any machines.

We sat in on the Board meeting at La Paz that afternoon. The main item was the California initiative proposing the repressive labor law. It was a day-long meeting, with about 20-25 people sitting in and all the key people -- Cesar, Dolores Huerta of the Legislative Department, Richard Chavez, head of the Field Office Department, Manuel Chavez (Cesar's cousin -- who's about to take off for Washington, DC and the McGovern campaign through the election), Gilbert Padilla, Philip Vera Cruz, Julio Hernandez, Chris Hartmire of the National Farm Worker Ministry, Leroy Chatfield of the RFK Medical Plan, Marshall Ganz from Boycott Central -- plus people from all the other departments. You can really see how the union operates in such meetings.

One item discussed while I was there is the need for endorsements and a blue ribbon committee. They're tentatively going to as Earl Warren to head it, and they discussed the need for well-known California women as co-chairpersons. All they could come up with were three names: Yvonne Braithwaite Burke (from the Democratic Convention, but felt to be not enough known in the southern part of the state); Shirley MacLaine (maybe too "movie-starry" and also too much known for McGovern, like

Braithwaite, and we are looking for a broader base); or Shirley Temple Black (!) We left it unsettled.

I had a long talk yesterday with Pearl McGivney, and she was telling me about problems with chauvinism here (from some of the people -- not from Cesar).

July 28, 1972 -- Today I messed around ordering some subscription renewals for grower magazines -- that's going to be a problem to keep up with -- and this afternoon went up to Delano (above Bakersfield, about an hour north of here, where the union began in 1962) with David Burciaga to meet with Andy Cangemi of White River and also have a meeting with the workers.

The White River thing was about our getting 60 workers for White River to start the harvest next Thursday (this is Friday), and then peak at about 200 pickers in late August. The session was abortive again. More machinations. They said they were supposed to get a call from one of our people about letting the Ranch Committee know, so we didn't have the meeting, since we will not meet with the company on anything unless the workers are present.

So then we went over to Forty Acres, the union center in Delano. It's a large one-story building with lots of offices and a medical clinic next door, where I talked with Nan Galvin, who's been working there for a year and a half and whom I knew from the Cincinnati grape boycott in 1970. She was an x-ray technician who was fired because of her boycott activities, and hored by Cesar to work in the clinic.

There were about 42 or so White River workers at the meeting. David reported on the negotiations and I gave them a report on Buttes' holdings, the map, and their boast of big profits in their annual report.

David asked them to prepare for a strike, and then there was much spirited discussion. One or two were reluctant, but several others made strong comments about

the need to fight to keep their jobs, how mechanization has affected other industries, and so on -- much clapping. All in Spanish and translated into English. Almost the whole crew was Chicano, with two Anglos, and one black guy. Finally they took a vote and 37 people signed a statement saying they would not work after Wednesday, August 2 (picking starts Thursday, with those 60 more to be hired) without a contract from the company. It was really some meeting -- better than those at Coke.

July 29, 1972 -- Today David and I spoke with Cesar (who is very much around but hard to get to talk with because there's so much going on) and we filled him in on the White River thing. He liked the strike vote, but suggested that we OK the 60 pickers anyway because it will be easy to get them to come out, and that might make it tougher on the company at a critical time.

After that I spent most of the day tracking down what per cent of the wine grape industry we have under contract. No one knew -- there are all kinds of loose end here because so much is happening that people don't have a chance or don't think to get all the info they can before they go on to the next thing. From random figures, it looks like we have about 25% of the total of 131,000 acres under the UFW -- in 15 contracts.

Since today is the second anniversary of the big Delano table grape signing -- when the 28 holdouts (including Giumarra) from the 1965 strike and boycott signed -- we had a memorial Mass this evening. Lots of spirited singing ("De Colores," "Solidaridad Pa Siempre," "Nosotros Venceremos"), and Cesar spoke on the tough fight we'll have next year when these three-year contracts run out -- the growers are already ganging up. I was seated between Cesar and his brother Richard.

Tomorrow several of us are going to Santa Maria for a fiesta.

July 30, 1972 -- Today I went over to Santa Maria on the coast (a three-hour

drive) for a fiesta on the second anniversary of the general lettuce strike of 1970, when about 10,000 workers from there and from Salinas walked out to protest the Teamster sweetheart contracts the growers had just signed (the day after the big Delano grape signing). There were about 20 La Paz people there, plus most of the California boycott cities' staff and about 500 altogether.

Fr. Victor Salandini had the Mass. He was featured in Time magazine a few months ago about his dispute with the Church over consecrating corn tortillas. This time he consecrated wheat tortillas for communion. Lots of the usual singing. Then some speakers and a tremendous chicken barbecue, and dance and theater groups: two good presentations of a chicano barrio and a farmworker-labor contractor-grower play.

At the entrance to the park, there were Teamsters in four cars writing down the license numbers of the workers attending. We don't have any contracts in this area, so our members and supporters here have to belong to the Teamsters union to work. This was a device to intimidate them. But our people were standing around their cars to block their view, and when the group in my car came in, an El Malcriado editor with us (Venustiano Olguin) jumped out and started taking pictures of the Teamsters. There should be a feature in the next issue in two weeks.

It was sunny and hot all day, so I have the usual sunburn, but I traded for some nice UFW buttons (I've brought several Emiliano Zapata-Martin Luther King-John F. Kennedy buttons from Florida, which they have not seen here), and it was good spirit.

July 31, 1972 -- Today I worked on finding out how many workers we have in Arizona. We got a call from Gus Guttierez, who's running our peach strike there, that the Teamsters are claiming they represent more agricultural workers in Arizona than we do. After I checked all kinds of files in various departments, it turns out that they're probably right. We have about 1,500 members in four lettuce and three table

grape contracts there, but the Teamsters signed sweetheart contracts in 1970 with more than 200 California lettuce growers, many of whom have land in Arizona, too. If they count only their members at Bud Antle, who signed a "legitimate" contract with the Teamsters in 1961, that's only 250 workers; but counting the other 200 growers, they probably beat us.

Also I went into Bakersfield to stop in at the Federal-State Market News Service for some information on wine grapes. I'm trying to get some information together on the status of mechanization, the % of acreage we have under contract (it looks like about 25-30%), and other such things. They were very nice and gave me some useful stuff.

And I'm still trying to get caught up on clippings from grower magazines.

August 1972

August 1, 1972 -- Today I caught up on some back newspapers and magazines and did a little bit on that wine grape study. Tomorrow we have another session with White River, with fiery Dolores Huerta sitting in with us. She screams and shouts and inspires the workers and scares the company a lot. David Burciaga thinks that she's super competent and intelligent but that she doesn't get much in negotiations in the long run, except that the company in contrast prefers to deal with smiling and "reasonable" people like him, and so things are settled. I've seen her already in discussions at Board meetings. She's mainly involved in the Legislative office and was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention (co-chairperson of the California delegation) with Richard Chavez, who heads the Field Office department. She's very tough and sharp and has been with Cesar and the union since 1962 and the NFWA (National Farm Workers Association, the first name for Cesar's organization). It should be good tomorrow.

August 2, 1972 -- At today's White River Farms negotiating session, we confronted Andy Cangemi with the Buttes Gas & Oil issue and asked that our negotiations cover all of BGO's 25,000 acres in agriculture, not just White River's 5,000 or so. Judy Johnson of BGO was not present, and Andy said that he had no authorization to discuss the rest of the holdings, but he was agitated by the suggestion.

With White River, we just had another two-hour morning session. Dolores Huerta sat in with us (plus David and the six-member Ranch Committee and me). More on their need to be competitive, low cash balance, and "model mechanization plan" for the industry. Dolores was very good at interrupting, pursuit questioning, and always having a come-back without being offensive. They've decided to start picking late next week

and want us to send them a letter saying there will be be no strikes or boycotts during the harvest while negotiations continue. (When told this, Cesar gave a finger symbolizing what our answer would be.) We also suggested discussion on all their acres, and we rejected their mechanization (but nicely). They responded by offering additional work for 175-200 people in a five-week grape crop they had previously contracted out.

Things are getting tighter as the harvest nears. Tomorrow I'm driving up to Fresno and Merced Counties to map their 5,300 acres in Sam Hamburg Farms, which they bought five months ago. We may be able to have it organized before next week's session, and then put more pressure on them on the machines (maybe a tradeoff where we agree not to bother their other holdings for one or two years in return for no machines, or if we go to war with a Guild Wine boycott -- they produce 30% of Guild's output -- we may get everything).

I also spoke today with Fr. Salandini, whom I met Sunday in Santa Maria, and we talked about an article he's doing for an industrial relations magazine. Also more work on the wine study I'm generall doing.

August 3, 1972 -- Today I spent all day on the road, in the court houses and halls of records in Fresno and Merced, checking on Sam Hamburg Farms, a 6,125-acre recent acquisition of Buttes Gas & Oil. I found all their holdings in one big block on the Fresno-Merced County border. It's mostly cotton, tomatoes, cucumbers, alfalfa, and almonds -- all pretty much mechanized. But one of our people is going out to organize the workers anyway -- more pressure on Buttes.

It's really pretty country all up and down the San Joaquin Valley, but very hot: high 90s and low 100s. Rich agriculture everywhere -- much more than Florida. But it's all irrigated. You see sprinklers, pipes, and canals all over. It almost never rains. Where there is irrigation, anything grows; but without water, it's like a desert.

August 4, 1972 -- Lots of things happening here. Today I finished the map of Buttes' Sam Hamburg Farms, and it turns out that Jose Luna (who was with Manuel Chavez in Florida in the Coca-Cola worker organizing campaign in 1971) is going out on Monday (this is Friday) to organize their 20 or 30 workers. (The harvests are all mechanized. These would be year-round equipment operators and other such workers.) Things are getting tighter with Buttes and White River now. We've decided to go for all their agricultural holdings.

I also messed around with clippings from grower magazines today and did some xeroxing of a Nader report for Peter Matthiessen's project, and even played bridge tonight.

There's a big meeting here tomorrow with the whole California staff on the initiative campaign.

The most immediate issue is a strike at two non-union grape growers in Delano. A busload of us from La Paz is leaving at 4:00 a.m. tomorrow (I'm writing this at 10:30 p.m.) to help picket. That will be a new experience for me.

August 5, 1972 -- Today I was up at 3:30 a.m. and away at 4:15 with 35 other La Paz people (mostly Anglos and many from the American Friends Service Committee's high school-college-age group working here this summer) for an hour and a half bus ride (we have three Greyhound busses which we apparently own -- good for bringing people to rallies, farm workers to the LA and SF boycotts, delegations to the Sacramento legislature) to Delano, where a strike started four days ago against two non-union ranches (the principal operation is Tri-Valley Growers, picking for cannery juice grapes) which we missed in the big Delano contract signing two years ago. The companies have 2,000-3,000 acres with many entrances and not enough strikers and union field office staff to cover them. We were dropped off in groups of 7-10 to join

people in several places.

Some strikebreakers were already in the fields when we got there at 6:00 a.m. dawn. We really should have gotten there at 5:00 a.m. to keep everyone out -- it's much easier to keep workers out by grouping a field entrances than it is to call them out once they're in. One of our sound cars circled the area berating the scabs and urging them out, but by this time (the fifth day), the only people working were hard-core scabs. Production has been cut by more than half.

We had good spirit, even in the face of hired security police: two chicanos at our entrance, with pistols and mace, but in their 20s and with good humor, as we talked back and forth. I took almost two rolls of film. We could stay only till 7:45 a.m. and had to rush back for a day-long meeting with about 300 of the California staff (virtually everyone) who had come up to La Paz for a strategy session on the initiative campaign.

The proposal is really repressive and would place severe restrictions on the union: limits on strikes, for example, and primary boycotts; outlawing secondary boycotts; and limiting union elections. Jerry Cohen, the union's chief attorney, says it would be the death of the union if it were to pass. We had lots of explanations and comments during the session today from various staff members and from Cesar, and even a session led by Fred Ross, who was one of Saul Alinsky's people and who organized Cesar in the 1940s.

I also talked with Jose Luna and gave him maps of Sam Hamburg Farms, which he'll organize on Monday. (This is Saturday.) It was a long, active day.

<u>August 6, 1972</u> -- Today we had the final session of the California ballot initiative conference. I slept late after the effects of yesterday's early strike line and missed most of it.

I got to talk with John Merrill, whom I met in the Cincinnati boycott last Christmas. He's now working on the campaign in Oakland. He told me that John Bank has had a shake-up in Cincinnati and three or four of the staff have quit over differences. He was away last month in Latin America and apparently the group didn't do as much as he wanted in his absence, so there were problems when he got back. So the arguments may have brought out other frictions, too. That's happened in other places. Chris Byrne (from Saint Leo) had some kind of flap in the Chicago boycott; and one of the people from the Tampa Walgreen's boycott (Pat, whose last name I can't recall) who went on to work in the Haines City field office, left last May or June because of problems with Mack and Diana Lyons. It's too bad that a lot of good people are lost because things don't get worked out.

Mostly today I just read the Bakersfield and LA papers.

I also went down to Bakersfield tonight and saw John Wayne in "The Cowboys." John can't get any hands because they're all off on a gold rush, so he hires on 10 young junior high schoolers to drive his cattle to market. On the way, the boys prove their manhood when John is brutally killed by a gang led by a long-haired ex-con who steals the cattle. But the boys get revenge when they decide to go after the gang and then stab, shoot, and maim every one of the bad guys. The audience was cheering. It was really depressing. The second feature with George C. Scott in "The Last Run" wasn't too bad, but he's been in better. I really felt like getting away for a little bit tonight, but it was pretty bad.

August 7, 1972 -- Today I did a lot of miscellaneous things. I did some xeroxing and file-searching on that project for Peter Matthiessen. Among the items was a clipping from Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz where he remarked: "Let's take the Cesar out of our salad." And another from a Bradenton speech where he called the

boycott "unAmerican and viscious."

Also some stuff for David Burciaga on the Paul Masson and Vie Del wine grape contracts. Last August (1971) we got contracts from them with very good wage increases: $2.40 an hour for general labor, $3.00 for tractor drivers (at Coca-Cola in Florida, we got only $2.25 for tractor drivers -- that wasn't a very strong contract, considering our boycott leverage, but at least it was a first), $4.20 for experienced budders and grafters, and good increases in some 20 other job classifications. The U. S. national Pay Board (set up to control inflation) granted automatic raises last Friday (a year afterward) to those making $2.75 an hour or lower (the new minimum for the Pay Board) and approved only a 9% raise for those who would make over $2.75. So a lot of people got cut out of raises. I did a chart on both of them, showing old and new rates, % increases, amounts approved, and income lost through the Pay Board action. We've been working with Senator Edward Kennedy on this, and Mark Snyder of his office requested the figures, so they may be able to influence full approval.

August 8, 1972 -- Today I did some more work on the Paul Masson/Vie Del wage study, attacked some more clippings, sent off a letter to Peter Matthiessen with a bunch of stuff, and finally got to doing the profile of Buttes Gas and Oil. On the Matthiessen project -- evidence of government agencies lining up to keep farm workers down -- a number of articles have been written on the topic by Tom Braden and Frank Mankewicz, including a story during the grape boycott on excess purchases of grapes by the Department of Defense, entitled: "Eight Pounds of Grapes Per Man" -- and a similar story on lettuce purchases.

August 9, 1972 -- More work on miscellaneous projects and on Buttes Gas and Oil. We have another negotiating session with White River Farms tomorrow. Picking starts next week. This should be the last session -- we're tired of waiting.

BUTTES GAS AND OIL COMPANY

California Agricultural Acreage

1. Buttes Gas & Oil Company — 2,714.77 acres
   All in Kern County and all agricultural land, mostly in cotton, young trees, and beets. At least 1920 acres of this figure is leased to Waybill Farms.

2. White River Farms — 5,034 acres
   Kern and Tulare Counties. All in wine grapes. 4,600 acres in production.

3. Haygrove Corporation (Jasmin Groves) — 5,880 acres
   Kern and Tulare Counties. Mostly citrus, nuts, and other tree crops. Managed by Roberts Farms. Most acreage thus under union contract.

4. Treegrove Management Corporation (Treecrop Co.) 2,797 acres
   Kern and Tulare Counties. Mostly citrus, nuts, and other tree crops. Managed by Roberts Farms. Thus non-citrus acreage is already under union contract.

5. Treegrove 1971 Management Corp. (1971 Treecrop Co.) 2,262 acres
   Kern and Tulare Counties. Same deal as Jasmin and Treecrop Co. Managed by Roberts.

6. Sam Hamburg Farms — 6.125.74 acres
   Merced and Fresno Counties. Cotton, tomatoes, alfalfa, cucumbers, and almonds.

7. GWD Farms — 517+ acres
   Kern and Tulare Counties. Borders on land leased to Waybill.

Total Agricultural Acreage — 25,330.51 acres

<u>Boycott Possibilities</u>

Oil and Gas -- outlets unknown and also small

White River Farms supplies 25-30% of Guild Wines' production, but a 1971 boycott check found little in the stores. Guild at 14.2 million gallons ranks third behind Gallo (66 million) and United Vintners (52 million). It is also affiliated with Ocean Spray Cranberry Company.

(Information on acreage compiled from Annual Report, prospectus, Tax Assessor's office, and Hall of Records.)

Jim Horgan 8/8/72

August 10, 1972 -- We started our negotiating session at the Bakersfield Inn at 10:15 a.m. with Andy Cangemi of White River asking David Burciaga for a letter guaranteeing that there would be no strike or slowdown during next week's picking. He said he's been very patient, and they need to discuss substantive issues, and they need a letter today. David agreed, outlined five or six issues to discuss, and promised that at the end of today's session he'd call Cesar from the motel with an answer.

After the issues for discussion were agreed on (wage rates, machines, the Farm Worker Development Fund, their non-wine-grape crops, and unionization for all their holdings -- that is, Buttes' six other subsidiaries), they asked for a break. That was at 10:45. We felt that they were really coming away from their position on machines and that we were in good shape. They were still out at noon, so we said we were going to lunch and would start again at 1:30 p.m.

During the break, David called Cesar, who said we wanted all their holdings and no machines. We're also trying to find out if Jose Luna organized the Sam Hamburg Farms workers yesterday -- no one knows, and it would be a good point for us to raise today. David also called Dolores Huerta in Delano to get her to come to the afternoon session. Things were happening quickly and we needed to get coordinated. We were optimistic that there might be a contract settlement in the offing.

When we resumed the session in the afternoon, we went until 7:30 in the evening. We had been optimistic during the morning, but all we did was talk all afternoon -- wage rates, grievance procedure, the company's poor economic status.

Dolores Huerta came down from Delano for the afternoon. She is exciting to see in action, and she talks so fast you can't take any notes. We came down on our wage proposals after a while, but the company said they had to study the impact and then adjourned until next week. They didn't mention machines at all -- so we think they've

given up on that point. They wanted a letter guaranteeing no strike or slowdown during their harvest (which begins Monday -- this is Thursday), but David refused because we came to no agreement on anything today.

The delay is good for us in a way because we haven't yet heard how Jose Luna has done in organizing the people at Sam Hamburg Farms -- and one of our points will be to ask for unionization for all the company's holdings.

August 11, 1972 -- Catching up on various projects today.

August 12, 1972 -- Today we had a day-long meeting with 50-60 ranch committee representatives from InterHarvest, Freshpict, and D'Arrigo Brothers -- irrigators, tractor drivers, and cutters in lettuce, broccoli, onions, asparagus, cauliflower, anise, and three or four other crops. These contracts expire next month, and talks begin Monday (this is Saturday) with the companies. Dolores Huerta conducted most of the meeting, and also Richard Chavez. David Burciaga was there to get an idea of what the workers want, and I helped in putting their suggested rates on the board. Only two Anglo workers were there, and two Filipinos, so most of the discussion was in Spanish (The important stuff being translated). All our meetings are in both English and Spanish, so they take 1 1/2 times as long, with the translation. I find myself understanding a little more gradually. I hope I can pick it up.

Richard Chavez asked me this morning to research the companies in the Delano grape strike -- Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo and Vignolo: where their land is, and the operations of Tri-Valley Growers, where they sell their stuff. So Monday I'll try to hit all the court houses in Bakersfield, Frenso, Visalia, and Madera.

Richard is very sharp. He heads the Field Office department and was a delegate with Dolores to the Democratic Convention. He seems to be the "coolest" of the brothers (Manuel is their cousin, but considered a "brother") and he is much more open

than Manuel, who sometimes seemed frustrating to me because he never let people know what was going on. It shouyld be a good project, and I think I can find what we want. I like field work like this. I hope I can finish it in two or three days in time to get back by the next session with White River on Thursday.

One of the lettuce workers brought an InterHarvest box with her. It was "Blue Chip" brand and said: "Let your customers know you are selling Union Lettuce -- Grown, Harvested, & Packed by the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO. Cut off opposite end flap and use as a price card." The end flap had a 6" x 6" UFW flag and said: "Farm Workers Union Lettuce. This lettuce was grown, harvested, & packed by members of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO." And in small print: "This card is to be displayed only with lettuce from InterHarvest."

Marshall Barry of New College in Sarasota, Florida, called to ask me to help with some material on Nixon and the Republicans. He wondered if Nixon had ever been photographed actually eating grapes during the boycott. I remembered seeing such a photo published in Muhammed Speaks, the Muslim paper, and had it sent to him.

August 13, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I just lazed around as usual. There seem to be only about half the normal group around here lately. Most are out on the initiative campaign in cities throughout California, since it's life or death for us.

Cesar left late last week for a tour of the boycott cities on the lettuce issue.

I was finally able to catch up on some letters and bills, and also a request from Suzie Gagan of the Tampa boycott for a letter of reference for Ramon Rodriguez (an organizer from Imokalee) for draft status as a conscientious objector.

I also talked with Bill Encinas of the Delano office, who's helping run the Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo strike. It's not going too well, and many scabs are still in the fields. Also most of the workers who came out have gone on to other harvesting jobs,

so he's having trouble getting enough people to picket all the entrances to the fields at 5:00 a.m. and keep people out. A new group of 15 kids came into La Paz last night (we get all kinds of summer volunteers from the American Friends Service Committee, church groups, and other young people), so he was hoping he could get some of them to help tomorrow. I told him that Richard had asked me to help research the company, and he was pleased, since no one knew how many ranches they had. I hope I can find them. I really get a kick out of telling people important stuff they don't know.

Last night I saw "Prime Cut" with Lee Marvin and Gene Hackman on meat packing in Kansas City -- not very good. I did pick up John Neihardt's Black Elk Speaks at an open-24-hours grocery store, while waiting.

August 14, 1972 -- I got some good stuff today in Visalia, Fresno, and Madera (north up the San Joaquin Valley -- 2 1/2 hours from La Paz) on Lamanuzzi and Pantaleo's holdings, but I need to check again tomorrow on leases and also on Vignolo Farms, who's connected with them.

Fresno is a nice city. I'm staying in an inexpensive motel (Motel 6). I saw the film "The Candidate" tonight, with Robert Redford. It's very good, and there are even union references in it. Redford starts out as a Community Legal Services lawyer, with a UFW black eagle on the window and door of his truck. In the middle of the movie, at the height of his campaign for Senator from California, a Teamster labor boss offers mutual help and he says sarcastically: "You were really good for the farm workers . . . We don't have shit in common." But he takes the help, winds up being manipulated by his managers and speaking in vague generalities v. his earlier hard-hitting stuff, and finishes wondering what kind of person he's become. It's a pretty plain story with a broad point, but pretty well done.

August 15, 1972 -- I got back to La Paz from the trip tonight and I'm trying to

piece together the stuff I got. It's easy to put down what a company is paying taxes on in the Assessor's records and map it, but it's hard to find and figure all the complex tie-ins with other companies, and leases, and other maneuvers going back 20 years, and all kinds of documents to check. Even with two days in Bakersfield, Visalia, Fresno, and Madera, I was able only to spot check the documents, but I did get all the land owned by Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo, the Vignolo family (I still don't know if they're all connected with "Vignolo Farms") and three other companies that seem to be tied in. L-P has 950 acres and the Vignolos nearly 5,000 -- so they're worth going after. It's good that we have an idea where they are, because the harvest is two or more weeks underway already, and it won't last long.

On the drive back I saw a raisin grape harvester near Selma -- one guy on a machine that fit right over a row of vines, which he drove down the row, pulling all the grapes off and conveying them over to another man driving a small cart, one row over. One machine like that is said to replace 80 workers. Right now, they're widely used in raisins and some in wine grapes and cannery grapes, but none yet in table grape varieties (because the machine would do too much damage to the grapes). It'll be just like wheat and cotton in a few years if we don't really put up a fight to save those jobs.

August 16, 1972 -- Today I completed the maps and went up to Delano to give them to Richard and the people there. We had a meeting with 8 or 9 people coordinating the strike. What I found in ownership is much less than what Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo operate. They make a lot of agreements with smaller growers to hire the workers and pick their crop for them for a fee and also handle marketing. None of these agreements are filed in court houses, so the only way to find them is to drive around the area looking for their trucks and boxes.

Things are getting hard now. The sympathetic workers have all come out and what's left are the hard-core strikebreakers, who've been resisting the union for seven years. The boycott people are trying to check their labels back East, and we may take some action against Dole, for whom Tri-Valley Growers (which buys from L-P) packs fruit cocktail and some other things. The organizers are also taking down scab license numbers and talking to the workers to keep them out. Company production has been cut, but we haven't figured out a way to really get them.

On the drive back, I stopped in Kern County Republican headquarters in Bakersfield. They're putting out a lot of slick literature, and I picked up some buttons and bumper stickers.

Tomorrow we have the session with White River Farms. We're expecting some breakthroughs because they started picking Monday (this is Wednesday), and there may be a strike unless they sign a contract soon.

August 17, 1972 -- Today the session with White River went until 6:30 p.m. Dolores Huerta was there again. She's really terrific in action. We had about ten caucuses, running in and out of the room with proposals and counter-proposals.

Things were more tense this morning than they've been in any of the sessions. (Today is the eighth session since negotiations began in mid-June.) Dolores was really going back and forth with two of the company people on ranch management, the function of the Ranch Committee, and pruning productivity. We were still wondering if they're serious about wanting a contract or not.

We finally got an agreement on wages -- less than we wanted, but much more than the company initially offered. Tractor drivers get $2.80 an hour in 1972-1973, and $2.90 in 1973-1974. (Coca-Cola/Minutemaid drivers in Florida get $2.25, but this is the seventh contract year for these workers, going back to 1966 and the Schenley

UNITED FARM WORKERS
NATIONAL UNION, AFL-CIO

Date _____

Print Name _____ Soc. Sec. _____

I hereby of my own free will, authorize the UFWNU, AFL-CIO, its agents or representatives, to act for me as a collective bargaining agency in all matters pertaining to rates of pay, wages, hours of employment, or other conditions of employment.

Employed By _____ Town _____

Job _____ How long employed _____

Present Address _____

Permanent Address _____

Signature _____ Witness _____

I signed a Teamster Authorization card under threat of loosing my job and I hereby revoke that Teamster card.

Signature _____ Witness _____

Dear Cesar, I support your Non-violent efforts to bring justice to migrant farm workers.

- I pledge not to eat lettuce. Unless it bears the United Farm Workers' Black Eagle label.
- I pledge to tell all my friends about the Lettuce Boycott.
- I pledge to raise the issue of the Lettuce Boycott wherever I see lettuce (conventions, fund raisers, church dinners, airplanes, restaurants, college cafeterias, hospitals, etc.)

VIVA LA CAUSA

UNION LABEL

Name _____

Address _____ Zip _____

City _____ State _____

Phone _____ Date _____

I support Cesar Chavez's Non-violent efforts to bring justice to migrant farmworkers.

- I pledge not to eat lettuce.
- I pledge to tell all my friends about the Lettuce Boycott.
- I pledge to raise the issue of the Lettuce Boycott wherever I see lettuce.

Signature _____ Date _____

165

Company, which was the first contract UFWOC ever got. Then the year-round were were all getting $1.05 an hour -- there were no job classifications -- and the UFW contract got them $1.25.) For White River, there was a 20-cent across-the-board raise for workers in the twenty or so hourly classifications (irrigators, working foremen, mechanics, frost protection workers, pruners, stake machine operators, and so on). The Ranch Committee was pleased, and the piece rates for picking are also good.

We think the company is up to something, however, because we could have gone on tonight to settle almost everything, but they wanted to adjourn until Friday of next week (eight days from now). We still haven't settled on machines, and also on an agreement for all of Buttes' holdings.

Jose Luna signed up a majority of Sam Hamburg Farms' 40 or 50 workers, half of whom were illegals and very scared. I can't wait till we spring that on them, since I had a part in finding the place.

They may still be playing games with us, trying to last out their harvest (which goes till late September or so), but we want to finish by next Friday.

During the breaks, I made some good button trades with Pablo Lopez of the Ranch Committee, and I now have 61 different UFW buttons (v. 33 when I left Florida).

August 18, 1972 -- Today I dashed around to Visalia again to check some more stuff on the five-company Delano strike, dropped off the material at the Delano office on the way back, and also got a copy of our first contract in 1966 with Schenley.

One current project I have is to compare wages before and after the union, and also UFW v. Teamster wages in the lettuce contracts. This is for a reporter from the Washington Post who's doing a story on us.

Cesar had a six-minute interview on CBS News last Friday. Terry Drinkwater and a film crew were up here two weeks ago for it.

I also got some material for Fr. Salandini, who's coming up here tomorrow so I can go over his article for a labor economics journal with him.

Also I got back to the thing for Peter Matthiessen and did some collecting for him.

My files and things were moved into another office when I got back from Fresno the other day. I'm now sharing a large office with David Burciaga in the Negotiating Department, with whom I've been doing most of my stuff anyway. The Research Department had been in with Sr. Pearl McGivney and El Malcriado distribution, and we were stepping all over each other, so I had been avoiding the place, and now we all have enough room. Office space is very tight and we're all very cramped here.

I saw the latest Merrill Farms lettuce box -- multi-colored and labeled: "Re-Elect the President Lettuce." Merrill is a very ideological grower and very hostile to the UFW. He is supposed to be presenting his message at the Republican Convention next week, so the Boycott Office is preparing a leaflet citing the real conditions under the so-called Teamster contracts (low wages and no attempt by them to enforce the contracts). Yesterday, the workers at his ranch in Salinas had a big protest because they had to pack these "Re-Elect the President" boxes. Our people in Miami (including Robbie Jaffee from the boycott office there) will be handing leaflets to the delegates to undercut Merrill's campaign.

August 19, 1972 -- Today I worked with David Burciaga again on analysis and calculations on Christian Brothers wine grape rates. They give us data on yields, acreage, and wages, and we use them to figure out how much the workers actually made per hour and what kind of rates we should propose for this year. It takes a long time to understand all the numbers and make a proposal that's good for us.

August 20, 1972 -- Today I spent messing around with acreage and hours and variety figures for Christian Brothers, Gallo, and Heublein, with all of whom we have piece rate negotiations this week. Most of it involved determining how much people get per hour in each variety so we could determine what rates to ask for this year.

At Gallo, for example, most averages were around $3.75 per hour as a picking rate -- that is, as an average for everybody. That means that the fast pickers get maybe $6.00 or $7.00 per hour and the slower ones $2.00 or $3.00. We feel that a better rate is around $4.50, with fast people thus getting $9.00 or $10.00 an hour and slower ones $3.00 or $4.00. But our proposal is based not on hourly rates, but rather on a sliding scale of rates per ton picked in each variety of grape according to that variety's yield per acre. (It's complicated.)

If a variety yields only a few tons per acre, workers should be paid more for harvesting it than for a variety which yields many tons per acre -- becuse it takes longer to fill up the gondola. We try to develop a sliding scale so a worker will make about the same in a good or poor field. This was Heublein's 1971 scale:

	Semillon, Muscat Canelli, Zinfandel, French Columbard, & 4 or 5 others (Big yields and fairly easy to pick quickly)	Merlot, Early Burgundy, Sylvander, & Aligate (Somewhat smaller grapes, smaller yields, harder to pick)	Pinot Noir, Johannesburg Riesling, Pinot Chardonnay, Sauvignon Blanc, Pinot Blanc, Gamay Beaujolais, Cabernet Sauvignon (Smallest & hardest to pick -- biggest profits)
Yields			
1-2 Tons/Acre	$32.50/Ton	$37.50	$41.50
2-3 T/A	$27.50	$32.50	$37.50

3-4 Tons/Acre	$22.50/Ton	$27.50	$32.50
4-5 T/A	$21.50	$22.50	$28.50
5-6 T/A	$19.50	$22.50	$23.50
6-7 T/A	$16.50	$21.50	$23.50
7-8 T/A	$16.50	$17.50	$23.50
Over 8 T/A	$13.50	$17.50	$23.50

This means that if a block of Zinfandel yields 4.53 tons per acre, workers should get $21.50 for picking a ton of it. If another block of Zinfandel yields 7.10 tons per acre, they get only $16.50 per ton. Pinots Noirs yielding 1.7 tons per acre were picked at $41.50 per ton, and so on.

What I was doing today (and for the past few days) was taking this and other data to figure out how much the average person got per hour, and then taking that and other stuff to help suggest a new sliding scale -- maybe moving some varieties to higher categories, and pushing some in #3 to a new #4 category -- with higher rates in each category, to come out with around $4.50 an hour average (which would mean that the fastest workers could make near $10.00 an hour -- about $60.00 or $70.00 a day).

All of this is very complex, and I'm just now beginning to understand it. I've felt very stupid in the past few days in the midst of all these data sheets from the companies, trying to figure out what I'm doing, and David Burciaga getting very impatient.

These piece rates are hard to negotiate because we've already signed a contract with them, and thus pledged not to strike or boycott -- so now we have no weapons till the contract expires. These rates should have been agreed to then, but it

takes so much work to prepare a good case, with arguments, that sometimes the negotiators don't want to mess with it, and so they leave these rates to be set at a later time. But that's bad because it leaves us in a weak position. Dolores Huerta often does this, according to David. She's really sharp and a tough negotiator, but she doesn't always take time to get everything done when it should be.

Tomorrow we start lettuce talks. Last Monday a preliminary session was held here with InterHarvest, Freshpict, and D'Arrigo workers -- all of whose contracts expire in the next two months. Tomorrow in Salinas we get down to serious stuff. I'll be picking Dolores up in Delano at 5:00 a.m. (an hour's drive from La Paz) so we can make the meeting in Salinas at 9:00 a.m. David has to meet Gallo tomorrow, so it'll be Dolores and I and the Ranch Committee. I'm along to take notes, but maybe I can add something, and it's good experience. We're trying to settle this as soon as possible, because the lettuce harvest is almost halfway done, so we have a session for Tuesday, too (today is Sunday), and we'll be staying over in Salinas.

I also spent an hour this morning on the phone with Roy Aarons, who's doing a story for the Washington Post for next Sunday. He wanted information on our contract rates, what people were getting before the union, and what the Teamster contracts get. It was a rambling conversation on all kinds of things, but he felt some of it was of value and what he was looking for.

August 21, 1972 -- It's early afternoon, and I'm at the union office in Salinas.

I picked up Dolores at 5:15 a.m. this morning and we got to the negotiating room at the Towne House Motel here at 8:45. There were 12 workers from both InterHarvest and Freshpict, and we started the joint session with 11 people from the two companies at 10:00 a.m.

After introductions, an attorney named William Spaulding did virtually all the

Bargaining Talks With Chavez' Union Called 'Unbelievable'

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN
Times Labor Writer

Negotiating a contract with Cesar Chavez's AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Union is a "unique and sometimes unbelievable experience," a veteran labor relations attorney for management told a Town Hall meeting here Tuesday.

The "behind-the-scenes" view from management's side of the bargaining table marked the first such discussion by a grower official who bargains with UFWU, and Attorney William F. Spalding said he has "never seen anything quite like Chavez's union anyplace else before."

"UFWU's leaders are highly emotional, irresponsible, and apparently not at all concerned that they may ruin a grower with whom they have contracts by making him inefficient and noncompetitive with other growers" he said.

As Spalding was discussing his "most unusual" experiences with UFWU, about 350 women and children from UFWU were marching around the Western Conference of Teamsters headquarters in Burlingame, singing, chanting farm worker slogans, and demanding the Teamsters "stop being pawns of growers."

When he got a report of the farm worker demonstration at the Teamster headquarters, Spalding said it is "typical of the way the UFWU obfuscates issues with emotionalism instead of dealing with the realities of a situation."

(A UFWU spokesman said in response that "the reality of the situation is that the growers have joined the Teamsters to destroy farm workers and we are naturally protesting that conspiracy.")

Growers who negotiate with the Teamsters say that union officials are "traditional trade unionists," who understand the traditional tactics of collective bargaining.

Different Organization

But Spalding said UFWU is "an entirely different kind of organization, since it is not merely a labor organization, but a movement to improve the lot of all Mexican-Americans."

Spalding did not identify the farms he represents in negotiations with UFWU, but as one of the best-known labor relations attorneys for management in the West—a senior partner in the firm of Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher—he bargains for most of the major vegetable growers who have UFWU contracts.

"The UFWU has something to work from because workers have been horribly exploited in agricul-

Please Turn to Page 26, Col. 1

Mr. Spaulding represented Interharvest, the subsidiary of United Brands, in the 1972 contract renewal negotiations with the UFW.

CHAVEZ' UNION

Continued from Third Page

ture, and it was a fear of a loss of job which kept them in line in the past," he said.

"The union has changed that, but at the same time, UFWU has no sense of obligation to growers who sign contracts with them," Spalding said.

"For instance, two of three melon growers signed contracts with Chavez fixing rates at one level before harvest time.

"The third grower was delayed in fixing the rates, but before harvest time actually came, he said he was ready to sign, and would sign for the same rates the union agreed to accept from his two competitors.

"The union refused, saying the third grower would have to pay substantially higher rates than his competitors, and the third grower lost a million-dollar melon crop as a result.

"And to top it all, the third grower was denounced by the union as a 'malicious employer.'"

Spalding said "another key difference between UFWU and all other unions I've ever dealt with is the highly charged, emotional setting in which they conduct all of their affairs.

"The bargaining session itself is often a strange scene, indeed.

"The union's committee consists of up to 60 members, mostly right off the fields and the negotiations with management is often turned into a noisy union meeting, conducted mostly in Spanish.

"They argue with each other, and when we suggest cutting down the size of the committee to get some work done, we are denounced as members of the exploiting class."

In most negotiations, labor and management officials often get together for off-the-record discussions.

"But anytime we try to talk off-the-record with the farm workers, we are denounced as 'gringos' who cannot be trusted," Spalding said.

The union representatives demand "continuous bargaining sessions," and when we ask about meals, sleep, or at least rest, they say apparently we don't understand the English language — that 'continuous' means without stopping, and that is what they mean, too."

"I don't subject myself to that sort of thing, but some grower representatives do, and it is just impossible to negotiate in those hectic circumstances," Spalding said.

Many of the firms UFWU has had contracts with in vegetables have substantially reduced their operations "because they just could not live with the UFWU," and some have gone out of business entirely, he said.

But the grape industry—scene of UFWU's first major victory—is "thriving these days, even under the burden of UFWU's contract because the crop does not need as many workers as vegetable crops do," Spalding said.

talking for them. Dolores was telling me earlier that he's a real son-of-a-bitch and they have mutual disgust for each other, but everybody was super polite, as everybody always is, and Spaulding is a tough negotiator.

The first point we discussed was setting a term for these negotiations. We wanted August 30, since that's the date the InterHarvest contract expires. They refused, since the Freshpict (Purex Corporation) contract goes till October 8.

After that there was a seven-minute silence, as we each looked at the other and reviewed our notes. No one would speak. It was really strange, but surprisingly not tense. Finally, Dolores asked them for their wage proposal. They refused to offer one till we did and refused to discuss money until we resolved the other terms of the contract ("so we can see what we're buying"). Then the workers said they wanted to deal with the companies separately, so the Freshpict workers left (but the Freshpict company people stayed -- to hear what we were asking from InterHarvest). So then we gave them our wage-rate proposals, and they asked for an adjournment at noon until tomorrow to study it. They seemed to be playing games, and we're not yet sure if they're serious. It may take a strike to get them, but the workers here are very together, so that won't be a problem. We'll know August 31.

So this afternoon we're going to get some figures on what lettuce is selling at (from the Federal State Market News Service) so we'll be in a better position to argue wages. Also, we may go out to check on the Brown & Hill tomato strike just south of here. Dolores has also been trying to reach Rick Stearns or Frank Mankewicz to check on coordination for the McGovern campaign. They have to pay the expenses for the help we give them, since it's illegal under the Hatch Act for unions to contribute to political campaigns.

Tonight I watched the Republican National Convention. Reagan helped our

publicity by saying: "As a matter of fact, you can even eat a lettuce salad at this convention." It was pretty depressing stuff, and we all yelled insults throughout.

Afterward I got busy with my price survey of what lettuce, broccoli, cauliflower, and celery were bringing to the grower and wholesaler (NY) for the past month and a half, and also an analysis of what growers pay for each carton of field-wrapped lettuce (66.1 cents) v. naked lettuce (41.65 cents). It's all designed to help us with arguments with InterHarvest tomorrow for wage rates.

Also tomorrow early, we're going out to the Brown & Hill tomato strike south of here.

August 22, 1972 -- I'm back at La Paz after two sessions with InterHarvest and Freshpict.

The negotiations with InterHarvest (and Freshpict just sitting in) went longer today, and just as tough as yesterday.

They presented us with a list of 18 proposals and company problems: on the hiring hall, seniority system, absenteeism, "poor quality of work," not following foremen's orders, too many slowdowns and stoppages, etc. Dolores said we couldn't take them back to the workers without knowing what the company's wage proposals were, and William Spaulding kept saying: "We can't lay any money on the table until we have some assurance on these things and know what we're buying." Two of the workers were very good in going back and forth with the company explaining what the situation was. Finally, after a break, Dolores gave them a tentative feeling on their proposals -- agreeing on some, saying we'd follow up on others, and flatly refusing on some. They still didn't give us a wage proposal, but they were much more relaxed in the afternoon session. We adjourned until next Monday, prepared to go till midnight August 31, when the contract expires.

It was good to hang around Dolores Huerta. She's always sharp and interesting. She's about 40 or more and has several kids, including one two years old and another 6 or 7 months old, with Richard Chavez, who also has grown children, and whom she married a couple of years ago.

August 23, 1972 -- Cesar got last night from his boycott tour and from his address to the California AFL-CIO convention yesterday. He put up a poster in our office -- it's a picture of Marlon Brando as Don Corleone with the statement: "Make him an offer he can't refuse." Attached is a note from Cesar: "To Negotiating Department from Administrative Department: Suggest you make this the motto of your department."

Today I mostly spent on a project for Richard Chavez. I went over to the office of Tenneco in Bakersfield -- a large conglomerate (including oil and gas) that signed a grape contract with us in 1970 and then sold all their land to Hollis Roberts, the largest grower in the world (with whom we also have a contract) in January of this year. The problem is mechanization of their wine grapes. We don't have a strong clause in either of those contracts like we have in the recent wine grape contracts, so 35-45% of their harvest is now mechanized. Richard is fighting Roberts to keep the percentage from going up, as it has each year, so he wanted me to go get whatever records Tenneco had on mechanization for 1969-1971. As it turned out, Tenneco had given all its production figures to Roberts when they sold the ranch, but the guy I talked with was very friendly (we spent two hours together), and he did give me some figures and estimates from his memory. He also said that a machine replaces one crew of workers -- about 20 or so people (not the 80 I had read last month in an article about wine mechanization in Washington State). "A machine really doesn't save a lot of money by itself," he said, "but a machine is a lot easier to deal with than a crew of 20

people."

Then I went up to Delano, and we looked over the figures, and examined the contract language to find some points to keep the machines out. We did find some favorable language, but no flat-out bans. Last year, Richard was not in this area, and the contract enforcers for Delano and Tenneco let them get away with a big jump in mechanization, so this season he is really fighting them.

Contracts really don't mean a lot on the surface. You have to fight to enforce them, and they're only as good as the degree to which you can make the company live up to the agreements.

On the way back here, I spent some time in the Bakersfield library reading Business Week and came on some good stuff on the wine industry and InterHarvest, which I had been looking for. I'm trying to check into all kinds of things for the negotiations next week.

When I got back to La Paz, they were in the middle of a community meeting and Cesar's report on his tour of the boycott cities. The main reason for the trip was to meet chain store executives and get agreements from them to carry just UFW lettuce -- fantastic success: some 15-20 chains in the Northeast, including Grand Union, Foodarama, A & P, and others. Cesar thinks we can win the boycott without picketing, if these hold up. The reception was totally different from the early grape days of 1967 and 1968, when the stores refused even to meet. There were all kinds of other reports, and I brought in the Merrill Farms "Re-Elect the President" lettuce box I got in Salinas, and showed everyone (and which I'm taking back to Florida). Those meetings are always informative, spirited, and humorous.

August 24, 1972 -- We learned what number the anti-UFW California ballot initiative will have: Proposition 22 (the last one of them all). The California ballot is

really crowded. Being in the last position and looking for a "no" vote should help us. We think people tend to vote no anyway. (The 22 numbers for the propositions were drawn by lot.) Our slogan is now: "Justice for Farm Workers. No on Proposition 22." But the campaign will take a lot of work. Cesar mentioned in last night's meeting that those of us left at La Paz (about 60-70 working people in about 15 departments -- at least as many have been sent out to work against the initiative) will have to hit the streets in October on the campaign. Already 10-20 people are going out at 6:00 p.m. every night (after the working day ends here) to Bakersfield to register voters and do a little work on the initiative.

Today I finally got off the package of material I was working on for Peter Matthiessen. During the past couple of weeks I've gone through all the El Malcriado's since the first issue in December of 1964 to pick out all the governmental articles. It's amazing the extent of governmental action against us -- anti-union legislation, court injunctions, National Labor Relations Board antagonism, Defense Department boycott busting, Labor Department discrimination, non-enforcement of laws by the Immigration Service (illegals and green-carders), police brutality, Interior Department water subsidies for growers, direct payments to growers by the U.S. Department of Agriculture, and a determination by President Nixon, Governor Reagan, and Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz to break the union.

Marshall Barry of New College in Sarasota, Florida, called today and wanted more information for his Pay Board report -- they still have not approved the wages in the H. P. Hood citrus contract. He seemed pretty decent and we had a nice talk. (I have had difficulties in the past with his overbearing manner.)

Late tonight as I was finishing up the Matthiessen thing, Marshall Ganz and Hub Segur of the Boycott Office asked me to sit in with them as they looked at the whole

lettuce industry and what the impact of our boycott has been. They are the ones coordinating the nationwide (and worldwide -- in Canada and Europe, too) boycott. We discussed all kinds of marketing aspects: shipments, unloads, UFW and scab figures, price -- all of which we know every day -- and we tried to find ways to chart what's happening in the market so we can tell what impact the boycott is having in measurable terms. There are all kinds of variables. Lettuce is not nearly as stable as grapes are for determining our effect. We can't tell yet what our impact is. We know from the quick agreements with the chain groceries to carry only UFW lettuce that we are a big factor, but there's no way to tell yet. In a month, of the chains hold to their agreements, we should be able to measure our impact. It was a really interesting session.

August 25, 1972 -- Today Dolores and I and five people from the Ranch Committee were in with White River from 10:30 a.m. till 8:00 p.m. We went over the contract language section by section (20 pages), and proposed and counter-proposed. They conceded on virtually nothing and took no action on our proposals for unemployment insurance, vacations for seasonal workers, payment for our Citizenship Participation Day (to our political action fund), a no-machine clause, and agreement for unionization for all the other subsidiaries of Buttes Gas & Oil. (Jose Luna organized Sam Hamburg Farms 6,000 acres and got 28 of the 70 workers to sign UFW authorization cards -- the rest were mostly illegals and afraid -- we don't have a majority, so we may not get this, but we're still pushing and even bluffing for it.)

We may have to trade off some of these to get the most important. We've done a little of that already: trading our preference for language in some clauses to get a few other things from the company. We still think they might be stalling to get further into the harvest, but we've told them that tomorrow (Saturday) is definitely the last

day -- or trouble on Monday.

August 26, 1972 -- Today we spent with White River again. It was the most interesting session yet. 23 workers sat in with the five-member Ranch Committee, Dolores, and me. It was really intimidating for the company. After a few tradeoffs (unemployment insurance and some contract phraseology we would have liked), some bluffs, and a direct threat of the workers to strike Monday, we came away with vacations for seasonal workers, a Citizenship Participation Day (where the company pays the workers for the third Sunday in January -- when they are not working -- and the workers turn the money over to the union for our political action fund -- White River at first refused, then proposed July 3, when only 64 or so workers are on hand, and finally accepted our date, when the full strength of more than 200 will be working), favorable language in key clauses on Grievance Procedure, Discharge, and other sections, and a no-mechanization clause.

The only thing left is their concession on agreements for all the holdings of Buttes Gas & Oil (principally Sam Hamburg Farms). They kept saying that they had no authority and that they were a separate corporation, but they finally agreed to act as a go-between and present the issue to BGO. Dolores told them that if they didn't call Cesar by tomorrow and set up some procedure for the workers at Hamburg and the rest, the White River workers want to strike on Monday. They said they'd "do their best." So that's where it stands.

We're on the verge of an agreement and on terms the workers consider pretty good. I've been in on the last seven of the 10 sessions since mid-June. We've really gotten to know the company people pretty well, all of whom are likeable, but looking for their own advantage, as we are. I've learned a lot and enjoyed this, because I'm making a contribution, both in discussion and argument and also research on the whole

Buttes operation, acreage mapping in four counties, and especially Sam Hamburg Farms (which I really hope we get but am mixed on our chances).

I hope the InterHarvest lettuce talks go as well for us and me. I've gotten a lot of good stuff from Marshall Ganz and the Boycott Office and Nancy Kleiber of the Field Office Department in the last two days to use in the negotiations. We start Monday (today is Saturday) and will probably go till Thursday when the contract is due to expire.

August 27, 1972 -- Today I got all the stuff ready for the lettuce negotiations. We have some good points and evidence to support them. I hope it works.

I drove up to Salinas alone this evening. Dolores is coming separately after a meeting tonight in Fresno to settle some field office things. We're expecting to go to at least Thursday with the talks -- that's when the contract expires.

There may be a strike tomorrow at White River Farms if they haven't called Cesar to settle everything today.

August 28, 1972 -- I had a good day today in negotiations. We met again at the Towne House motel, with seven people from InterHarvest, led by attorney William Spaulding and one of the company vice-presidents, Hal Bradshaw. There were about 30 of us: workers from Salinas, the Imperial Valley (near the Mexican border), and other holding of I-H, and representing lettuce, cauliflower, broccoli, and other crops they grow.

They gave us an opening wage proposal higher than we expected. "General labor" now gets $2.07 an hour; we asked $2.75 and they offered $2.25.

Lettuce crews on piece rate now get 40 1/2 cents a carton, divided according to this formula: 32 cents for a "trio" of two "cutters" and a "packer", 4 cents for the "closer," and 4 1/2 cents for the "loader." We asked for 49 cents, and they offered 42

1/2 cents. The work operates in this way: the two cutters go along on their knees slicing off the heads of lettuce, going very fast and leaving them in the row. The packer comes along right behind them and puts 24 heads of lettuce into each box (30 heads if they are undersize -- a bonus for the grocers). The closer then follows with a staple gun sealing up the boxes. And the loader lifts each box (maybe 50 pounds -- loaders tend to be very large guys) onto a truck, which is driving through the field. A typical lettuce crew of 30 or so people might have 7 or 8 trios, 2 or 3 closers and a couple of loaders.

We are farther apart on other rates, and we still need agreement on language, unemployment insurance, the pension plan, Citizenship Participation Day, travel pay, vacations, day care centers, and some other fringe benefits.

But the talks today were better than last week. I was doing all kinds of figuring all day long with various statistics we have to justify our position, and I also made a couple of points in discussion, so I think I am contributing something. Two of the workers here are particularly effective in discussion and explaining away various arguments the company tries to make. From how it goes today and maybe tomorrow (Tuesday), we'll be able to tell if we'll have an agreement on Thursday.

August 29, 1972 -- Things didn't go too well today in the Salinas negotiations -- no movement in terms. We're pretty much at an impasse after four sessions and no agreements on anything.

Today saw more discussion with our 30 people and their eight. We rehashed past arguments on wages, their contract proposals, and problems in working conditions. We went from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Dolores Huerta is very tough and always has a come-back for company arguments. Jose Morales and Carlos Valencia, two InterHarvest workers, are also particularly good at countering lawyer William Spaulding's

WHICH WAY WILL THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH INTER HARVEST GO?
For a full report, be sure to read the next issue of EL MALCRIADO!

Jim Horgan (left) and Dolores Huerta (center) with the members of the Ranch Committee (including Carlos Valencia, next to her, and Jose Morales) in negotiations with InterHarvest, August 1972.

presentation of company problems by giving the workers' side on what actually happened. We still don't know yet if they're willing to take a strike over these issues. The strike and boycott really hurt them last time in 1970. Tomorrow we should have a good sense on how things will go. If they make any movement on changes, then they'll probably settle before the contract expires Thursday night; if not, there'll probably be a strike.

But we even had some humor in the midst of the troubles. During a break, one of the workers put on the blackboard: "Si No Se Arregla, Huelga," which means, "If there's no agreement, there'll be a strike." Another worker changed it to: "So No Se Arreaguila, Huelga," which sort of means, "If it's not 'agr-eagled' to (a play on the UFW eagle symbol), there'll be a strike." When the company came back in, Hal Bradshaw, vice-president of InterHarvest, said he understood the word "Huelga" but couldn't make out the rest -- so the workers explained it to him.

We also have problems at White River Farms in Delano. The workers went out on strike yesterday and they're still out. John Boreta, president of Buttes Gas & Oil, finally got together with Cesar on the phone, and Cesar called tonight for Dolores really pissed. She is staying the night in San Jose, so I talked with him. Cesar said Boreta gave him a different story on what was agreed to than Dolores did -- apparently more things are up in the air than she told him were, and he's mad. That's partly true. She had told him that only the Sam Hamburg Farms issue was unsettled, but I think there were some language things, too -- in the grievance procedure, discharge clause, and employee security clause. But Boreta told Cesar that Citizenship Participation Day, the mechanization clause, management rights, and the savings clause were still unsettled -- all of which is not true. So it's a real mess.

August 30, 1972 -- Things are really at an impasse today. We met for only 2 1/2

hours and discussed wages, contract language, and field wrap machines. There was no movement on either side, so we adjourned.

In the afternoon, I went out with some workers to check on the lettuce-wrapping machines. They're enormous things -- as big as a small house -- and move through the fields with a crew of 28: 12 workers cutting lettuce in front and behind the machine (the machines are not "harvesters") and lifting the "naked" heads to the 10 wrappers sitting in the machine. They wrap each head in cellophane with the company's brand name (which makes a better appearance in the grocery stores), hot-seal it, and put the heads on a conveyor belt to the 3 or 4 "packers," who put 24 heads into each box the "stitcher" is making, and then to a "closer" and "loader," who lifts them onto trucks.

We got some figures on the cellophane wrap itself to call the manufacturer to check how much they cost. The company told us that it costs 25 cents a box for the cellophane (about a penny each) to wrap each head, and we need to verify the figure. I call the manufacturer tomorrow.

Meanwhile, we called all the field offices to notify InterHarvest workers all over California and Arizona -- the company has fields in Salinas, Santa Maria, Calixico (in the Imperial Valley), Blythe, and even Arizona, all of which are harvested at different times of the year -- to tell them to be ready for a strike on Friday (today is Wednesday) if the contract is not settled.

At White River Farms, the workers went back today after a two-day stoppage. Union attorney Jerry Cohen is now trying to finalize the contract with them.

I'm staying with staff member Jerry Kaye here in Salinas, and we've had a chance to see the Olympic Games in the evenings.

<u>August 31, 1972</u> -- We met today with InterHarvest from 10:00 a.m. till 12:30

a.m. (a half-hour after the contract expired at midnight). The InterHarvest workers voted at a 7:00 p.m. meeting tonight, while we were still in negotiations, to strike tomorrow (Friday) if things are not settled.

The company is still inflexible, even as we've come down a little on our wage proposals and withdrew some fringes (sick pay and unemployment insurance), but we've only reached agreement on one small clause -- covering "Harmonious Working Relations." So the 2,000 or so InterHarvest workers in Salinas, Brentwood, Calexico, and Arizona will be out Friday. We also have a meeting scheduled tomorrow to continue negotiations. Dolores has to go up to San Francisco tomorrow for some speaking engagements and previously set up TV things, but David Burciaga is coming in to take over in case she can't get back.

September 1972

September 1, 1972 -- Today all 1,500 of InterHarvest's workers were on strike in Salinas, the Imperial Valley, Arizona, and the company's other places -- plus 500 other workers (not UFW) who could not work because of the field strike. I went out to the fields for a while. It's 100% effective. Nobody was working at IH (but work continued at other companies) -- no strikebreakers, no firings, no violence, no harrassment. Very peaceful.

Dolores went off to San Francisco for some speaking and TV stuff (previously arranged) and David Burciaga came over from a meeting with Gallo Wines to fill in.

I brought David up to date on all that's happened and we met with the company from 2:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m. The attitude of InterHarvest was quite different today from the past six sessions. We reached agreement on some things, but most issues are still unsettled, including wages. We'll meet again tomorrow afternoon to continue.

September 2, 1972 -- We're starting to get more movement on the part of the company. They know the workers are very solid in this and they don't want the strike to on any longer. There is no work normally on Saturdays or Sundays, and also Labor Day, so if we settle by Monday, the company will have had only a one-day strike.

I've had a rough time with Dolores the past couple of days. She can be really argumentative and jump all over you -- dismissing suggestions, telling you you're naive, making faces at your opinions. It's really frustrating to work with her sometimes. David told me that she yells at people all the time. She's jumped on him so much in the past -- that he settled wage rates too low or didn't get the right contract language -- to such an extent that that's why he asked her to come to the White River Farms negotiations, so she'd be involved in the settlement and wouldn't yell at him. She can also change the very next moment and be really nice.

WALL STREET JOURNAL, SEPTEMBER 13, 1972

Buttes Hires New Hands At Vineyard Unit Struck By Farm Workers Union

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL *Staff Reporter*

OAKLAND, Calif. — Buttes Oil & Gas Co. said it hired farm hands who aren't members of the United Farm Workers Union to resume grape harvesting at its 5,000-acre vineyard subsidiary, White River Farms.

The company said some 250 union members went on strike Aug. 26 in a contract dispute. Buttes said, however, that it resumed harvesting last week with nonmembers and expects to have a full complement on hand today.

Buttes said the sides already have agreed on wages, hours, benefits and other conditions for the vineyard in Kern and Tulare counties, Calif. The company said the remaining issue was "contract language."

Buttes said it obtained temporary restraining orders prohibiting the union from mass picketing, intimidation, violence and sabotage. The company alleged that the union has engaged in violence.

The company asserted that the union has refused to resume negotiations, which broke off two days after the strike's start.

BAKERSFIELD CALIFORNIAN, 9/16/72

Firm Blames Strike on UFW Official

FRESNO (AP) — An official of White River Farms in Tulare County blamed United Farm Workers representative Dolores Huerta Friday for touching off a sometimes violent field workers strike while vowing to complete the grape harvest there with non-union workers.

Mrs. Huerta "threw nine weeks of bargaining out the window" by demanding that a labor contract for White River Farms also cover Sam Hamburg Farms in Los Banos, said Andrew Cangemi, vice president of White River. Hamburg Farms is a "separate entity" owned by White River's parent company, Buttes Oil and Gas of Oakland, Cangemi said.

Until Mrs. Huerta entered negotiations, Cangemi said he and the union had agreed to wage increases of 15 per cent over the next two years. Non-union pickers in the fields today are being paid the negotiated salary, between $4.75 and $5 per hour, he said.

Ten days after the strike began, Cangemi said he ordered non-union pickers into the fields because the $3 million grape crop would otherwise rot on the vines.

There has been "considerable loss" to overmature grapes because of the delay, Cangemi said. Some 400 tp 450 workers will be needed over the next three weeks to complete the harvest.

"We have made a commitment to other growers and grower associations and to the workers they have provided us that we will complete this harvest," he said.

About 15 persons have been arrested at White River Farms in Poplar and three injured during the past week, prompting the farm to obtain a court order limiting the number of union pickets.

The White River situation is still going on. The workers were on strike Monday and Tuesday (today is Saturday), then apparently went back to work on Wednesday, and out Thursday and Friday, and are still out. I had to call La Paz this afternoon for some figures for the IH talks, and Cesar came on the line with some points he wanted stressed here, and he also told me that we would start paying strike benefits to the White River workers if they are still out this coming Monday. Jerry Cohen is trying to finish up negotiations there, since David and Dolores are both up here. Maybe when we finish these up -- which we should do in a day or two more -- we'll be back talking to White River. I felt I was doing more for those negotiations than here. Here I'm mostly taking notes and also doing some economic figures and checking on statistics. No much discussion, since there are so many of us here (40 or so now) and the Ranch Committee is very aggressive, especially Carlos Valencia and Jose Morales, two of the IH workers, who with Dolores do most of the talking for us.

Today we reached agreement on a lot of secondary issues and got into wages. For the first time in eight sessions, the company came up on its wage proposal -- after they had been stressing that "all the money is on the table." They claim that their offer will result in $3 1/2 million more for the workers in wages and fringes over the next three years, and that our proposal would result in $11 1/2 million more. We asked for proof of that, so they invited us to check their figures with their comptroller. So we took them up on it. Tomorrow, three or four of us are going out to the company's headquarters to see their figures. That should be good.

September 3, 1972 -- Today (Sunday), Dolores, David, Carlos, and I went over to InterHarvest's headquarters here in Salinas to look over their figures on what each of our porposals means in terms of total increases and impact.

They were more friendly than they've ever been and went over their figures

with us. They seem very anxious to settle things tomorrow so that they will have had only a one-day strike.

Seven of us spent the rest of the day going over their figures to check the accuracy and what they might be hiding. Also, Frank Denison, one of the union's attorneys from Delano, came up to help, along with Hub Segur, the lettuce marketing research guy from the Boycott Office at La Paz.

When we have looked this all over (we're still going through it), we should have a good idea of what's happening. We're concentrating on their profit rates so we can hit them with more arguments to justify our proposals.

September 4, 1972 -- Today Hub Segur and I went out to InterHarvest's office to get more of the figures. The company people were all very friendly and cooperative.

We kept postponing our negotiating session with them today -- from 9:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. -- so they finally cancelled the meeting.

Then we did all kinds of calculations on their figures, trying to get at their costs and profit per box so that we could evaluate our proposals in that light. We still have only intangible figures and impressions.

The company will take a second day of the strike tomorrow. (The InterHarvest workers were not scheduled to work today, since it's Labor Day.) We've been discussing how long it might go. The Ranch Committee (30 or so workers representing lettuce cutters, loaders, foremen, broccoli workers, cauliflower cutters and tiers, celery workers, irrigators, tractor drivers, and so on) is very strong, but there is already some feedback from some of the 1500 workers worrying about how long the strike might last. We still have a lot more to settle with the company. We're quite far apart on wages and fronges and conditions, after these two weeks of talks. So we may have to go on a boycott of United Brands -- including Chiquita Bananas, A & W Root Beer, Baskin &

Robbins Ice Cream -- to get them.

But we are modifying some of our demands, and they will probably do the same thing. We may settle in a day or two.

September 5, 1972 -- Today we met with the company again, most of the day, still on the wage rates. We made them another lower offer (coming down $1 1/2 million) but we're still $9 million apart, so they told us they could not make us a counter offer until we were closer. At that point, Dolores told them to call us when they had one. So the negotiations are broken off until then.

After that we went to a rally of the striking InterHarvest workers in a park here in Salinas -- about 400-500 of them turned out. There was high spirit, and Dolores brought them up to date on what's happening. A lot of them have apprehensions about how long the strike will go. They haven't had much work in the last month anyway, so they're pretty short of money. But they all shouted "Huelga!" just the same.

September 6, 1972 -- Since we don't know when negotiations will resume, I decided to go back to La Paz today. David is going back also. He called Cesar and got an OK. He has a hard time working with Dolores, so he was wasting his time here. It's pretty much the same with me. I'd like to stay until an agreement is reached, but I'm not contributing anything and there's work to be done for the Freshpict and D'Arrigo negotiations, and also White River Farms, if those talks start again. I got back from Salinas in the evening.

Salinas was a real experience for me and I learned a lot. David has had the same difficulties with Dolores that I've had. He's upset with the way things have been badly handled. Lots of time was wasted in two weeks of fruitless discussion, very much in part through her uncompromising attitude. He also thinks she stirred the workers up too strongly in asking for and expecting too much in wage increases -- beyond what

the company can reasonably be expected to pay. (They made $2 million last year, and we're currently asking for $9 million in increases over three years.)

So the strike seems unnecessary, especially when it might have been avoided. David doesn't believe in selling the workers out, but he thinks that approaching the company reasonably -- asking the workers how much they really want (not the moon) and how much they think the company will pay, and starting out by asking for slightly more than that -- that that approach works out better in the long run.

David told me he understands now why Cesar took Dolores out of negotiations and put her into other things like legislative and political work. This is the first time he's seen her in action conducting for our side. David was supposed to do the InterHarvest talks but got delayed with a work stoppage at Gallo two weeks ago, so Dolores began them and now it's too late for him to step in. The workers really think she's great and they wouldn't accept a replacement. She's really good at always having an answer for the company, but her tough attitude leads to escalations in strikes and boycotts that may not be necessary -- especially since the company does not appear to be tremendously profitable (although its parent United Brands is) and especially since we're spread thin with the Arizona recall campaign, the California initiative on Proposition 22, and strikes at White River Farms and Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo, plus the nationwide lettuce boycott, and all kinds of other problems.

So now we have to get ready for Freshpict (Purex Corporation) and D'Arrigo Brothers, whose contracts expire in October. Talks will probably start in a couple of weeks.

September 7, 1972 -- Today I caught up on the mail and did some checking on Purex Corporation for the upcoming Freshpict lettuce negotiations. Also more talk with David Burciaga on negotiating in general, and earlier this evening Cesar asked me for

what we had on Buttes Gas & Oil. I showed him an acreage digest I'd done (25,000 acres in seven companies in four counties) along with maps. Then he was off to a meeting with the White River workers in Delano. Things are deteriorating there and the company has hired strikebreakers through a labor contractor to do the harvest. We may be on a Guild Wine boycott soon.

September 8, 1972 -- Today I caught up on the mail and files and also looked up some things on Purex. We also had a community meeting early this morning and got caught up on the four strikes we've got going: InterHarvest, White River, Lamanuzzi-Pantaleo, and Brown & Hill (a tomato grower in the Salinas area -- it's been going on for two months). There is so much happening that we are stretched thin.

Only about 40 or 50 people are left at La Paz. Most are out on the Proposition 22 initiative campaign all over the state, and a dozen or so left for Arizona last night for a final get-out-the-vote drive in Tuesday's primary. (Today is Friday.) The recall petition now has more than the 100,000 signatures needed, but they're trying for 150,000-200,000 to make sure the petition qualifies. Also, an investigation by the Los Angeles District Attorney has shown widespread fraud in the collection of signatures for Proposition 22, so there may be a chance to get it thrown off the November ballot.

I got a couple of new UFW buttons today, including one that says "Nixon Eats Lettuce." I now have 70 altogether.

David and I were talking today about discrimination. He feels very strongly about it because he's experienced it -- not getting jobs, being refused service, and so on. He's 50. But his son, who's 18, doesn't is not particularly concerned about it and even criticized the black ghetto uprisings. So David said to him: "Suppose I were standing on your foot." (And he then stood on his son's foot.) "You'd first ask me to get off, and it might even look funny to someone watching. But if I didn't move, you'd

start shouting, and then shoving, and finally you'd throw me off." That's a pretty good simple analogy.

September 9, 1972 -- I was doing some work with the files today. Andy Anzaldua invited several of us to his house for a ham dinner. Dolores stopped in to see what was happening. She said that InterHarvest wants to start negotiations again on Monday. (Today is Saturday.) Also, John Boreta, president of Buttes Gas & Oil, called and we may start talks again there soon. Both strikes have been virtually 100% effective, after some trouble for a few days with scabs at White River. So things are looking pretty good. Cesar is in Pennsylvania to speak at a convention commemorating a mineworkers' strike and massacre there in the 1880s.

September 10, 1972 -- Today I just messed around and went into Bakersfield to see "Butterflies Are Free" with Goldie Hawn and Edward Albert. It was based on a Broadway play and reminded me vaguely of "Barefoot in the Park" with a different story line (blind kid living alone to break free from his overbearing mother meets freaky free spirit in the adjoining apartment). It was pleasant and had some good lines and acting. The theater was running a presidential poll based on customer drinking straw selections from two containers labeled "McGovern" and "Nixon." The count at that point was McGovern 56.2%, Nixon 43.8%. (But people from ages 15 to 25 make up something like 75% of the movie-going public.)

September 11, 1972 -- David Burciaga and I drove up to Salinas this evening, and we had to get busy right away with figures for tomorrow's negotiations, which resume with InterHarvest.

September 12, 1972 -- I'm writing this at 10:00 p.m. in the midst of the InterHarvest workers at the Salinas Women's Club, waiting for the company to come back from a caucus. We're very close to a settlement.

Dolores Huerta was "relieved" as the union's negotiator because things were getting nowhere, and Cesar also asked the company to remove William Spaulding, so the tone was much more reasonable today and we got down to genuine negotiations. She conducted the session yesterday as David and I were driving up here. It was the first meeting in a week, and the company made an additional wage offer. She took the replacing pretty well -- Cesar had told her bluntly -- and so did the workers, although David was apprehensive that they might not accept him after her. Cesar had also met with Eli Black, chairman of the board of United Brands (the parent company of InterHarvest) in New York Sunday, and they came to some understandings about what a reasonable settlement might be. The company agreed to come up to $4 million from their previous offer of $3.3 million, over the three years of the contract.

Today we spent all morning going over their latest proposal to evaluate it and figure in possible increases. We began meeting at 3:00 p.m., seven hours ago. Ultimately, in a long session with the workers, everybody became convinced that their $4 million increase was about all they could afford and that if we pushed too hard, there was a real danger that United Brands would sell InterHarvest as unprofitable (and thus dump the union). It represents only 2% or 3% of their entire sales, so if it's not profitable, they'll get rid of it. We had the same problem with Pic & Pac Strawberries, who sold out last year, and now Freshpict (Purex Corporation), who is going away from lettuce and celery into carrots, onions, sugar beets, and other crops that are mechanized. So it's a real problem. Everybody understood and the workers voted unanimously to accept the company's wage offer. It's not as much as we wanted, but pretty good and probably all we could get. There are still only a few issues remaining, so we should have an agreement tonight.

I'm finishing this on Wednesday morning. The late session was too much for

the company. We broke up at 1:00 a.m. and agreed to meet at 10:00 a.m. later this morning. There are only four or five small issues to be resolved, so we'll finish quickly today for sure.

September 13, 1972 -- Tonight we reached an agreement with InterHarvest, a little before midnight, and the workers go back to work in the morning.

We spent all day back and forth on seven or eight points, mostly on wording in the contract: for example, on things like spelling out "Management Rights" and also permitting the company to buy and sell certain crops without using our workers. We gave in on a few items (like a special arrangement called a "Most Favored Nations" clause, whereby we wanted them to pay our members the prevailing industry rates for wages in case they rise goes above our contracted rates -- an unlikely event). But we won on virtually all the items discussed, especially five cents an hour ($480,000 in three years) as a contribution for the Farm Workers Fund.

They really wanted to settle today (as did the workers), and they probably had orders to come to an agreement from Eli Black, the board chairman of United Brands in New York. He and Cesar have been in contract the last few days. So it was settled and afterwards, David Burciaga and Gilbert Padilla and I went out an had a strawberry sundae and root beer to celebrate. We also reviewed the humorous things that had happened during the negotiations, and there were a number of them. At one point, for example, David presented his proposal for a "Most Favored Nations" clause. It's somewhat technical and complicated (like U. S. tariff policy, on which this labor concept is based). He got a little mixed up as he was explaining it to the company, but one of the company people nodded and said he understood the concept. So David said to him: "Could you explain it?" The guy got really indignant and said: "It's your proposal. I'm not going to explain it!" We really laughed about that later.

A NEWSPAPER
FOR THE HOME
Information and Enjoyment
For Every Member of the Family

SALINAS CALIFORNIAN

WEATHER
Fair through tomorrow except fog night and morning. High yesterday 73; this morning's low 53.
(Complete forecast on Page 28)

101st Year—No. 220 SALINAS, CALIFORNIA, THURSDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 14, 1972 42 Pages 15 Cents

Inter Harvest, UFW Reach Accord

The United Farm Workers and Inter Harvest, Inc. confirmed agreement today on a new three-year contract between the company and union.

Formal signing was scheduled this afternoon, but the staff at the UFW hiring hall in Salinas said the union was already dispatching some 1,200 workers to Inter Harvest fields this morning on word of the all-but-signed contract.

The 1 a.m. agreement ends a 12 day strike by Inter Harvest workers which followed expiration Aug. 31 of a contract signed in August, 1970—the first of five won by UFW during that year's general strike.

Negotiations had been viewed as critical by UFW, which saw the new contract as a trend-setter for future negotiations, and by non-UFW growers who viewed it as a possible test of the farm union's viability.

Major provisions of the new contract, as confirmed by both Cesar Chavez, for UFW and Harold Bradshaw, Inter Harvest president, include:

—New hourly rates of $2.27 for thinners and hoers and $2.25 for general laborers, both of whom had been getting $2.07.

—A 42.5 cent a box rate for unwrapped pack field crews, two cents above the previous 40.5 cent rate.

—A quality pack clause, which both Chavez and Bradshaw hailed as something new, and a mutual commitment by company and union to work together in providing the best possible product.

—Retention of most clauses in the previous contract regarding safety and general working conditions.

—Provision for a "citizen participation day," explained by Chavez as a paid holiday for workers with funds going toward UFW's political and legislative battles.

The contract will cover some 2,000 Inter Harvest workers in California and Arizona, with slightly lower salaries in Arizona.

Chavez, in a telephone conversation from UFW's La Paz headquarters in Keene, Calif., described the contract this morning as "a very good contract . . . . A just contract for both the company and union."

Bradshaw likewise described it as "a good contract . . .Something we can live with."

Both said emphasis during the 13 - days of negotiations had been on raising salaries for the lowest paid workers, primarily those in thinning and general labor.

The three - year contract will presumably provide Inter Harvest with a relatively clear labor picture through 1975, with annual increases built into the contract and no renegotiation until the contract expires.

Precise details on the contract were still unavailable this morning, and Bradshaw said he could provide no estimate yet on what the three - year wage and fringe package would cost Inter Harvest.

He did say the package would represent a 16 per cent increase in costs over its three - year life.

Chavez told the Californian the just - concluded negotiations were "extremely important" to UFW, which was already advised Freshpict that it expects to be negotiating a new contract with them next, with D'Arrigo Brothers to follow.

"I'm sure the rest of the industry was counting heavily that we wouldn't get a contract," Chavez said. "I'm sure they were very disappointed."

Most Salinas Valley grower-shippers and many growers have contracts covering their field workers with the Western Conference of Teamsters—contracts signed just before UFW's general strike of August-September, 1970.

The lower courts have upheld the validity of those contracts and enjoined mass picketing by UFW as a violation of the state's Jurisdictional Strikes Act because of them. But UFW has appealed the injunctions to the California Supreme Court.

The July, 1972, minimum under the Teamsters contracts is $2.08 an hour.

UFW has launched a national boycott of all non - UFW lettuce except for that grown and shipped by Bud Antle, Inc. Antle has had a contract covering its field workers with Local 890 of the Teamsters Union for a decade.

Salinas attorney Joseph Stave, who frequently represents valley growers in labor negotiations, said that most although not all growers would be studying the rates with an eye to meeting them. "Some I think are probably paying more than this now.

Tomorrow, after a draft of the contract is typed, we'll meet with the company to review and sign it.

These last two days we really did some serious negotiating and got things out of the way. It's an electrifying feeling when things are really moving and you're coming to an agreement on issue after issue, and you finally reach a settlement.

It's much different from the approach Dolores was using, which is to reject company offers continuously, and give them ours on a take-it-or-leave-it basis, while all the time yelling at the company. It's a "wartime" approach, and the workers often love it, but there's not much progress and sometimes it's not realistic. It just escalates into strikes and maybe boycotts, which may not be necessary, and the company may start thinking seriously of selling the property off as unprofitable. A "reasonable" approach seems more effective in the end -- at least it did this time.

Was the strike "necessary?" It lasted a total of 13 days (eight working days) and cost the company $500,000. The workers lost their wages (but we paid a modest $25 strike benefit to each -- $35,000). The people gained a lot in spirit, and we may not have been able to get what we did without it. The company respects their toughness and seriousness. David's view is that strikes in general are necessary and that one cannot take the view that the workers will never get back their wages lost in a strike; they'll make no progress at all unless they show the company that they are willing to fight for what they want. But this particular one might have been avoided.

What we got was a three-year contract. General Labor rates (now $2.07 per hour) go to $2.25 for 1972-1973, and then $2.33, and $2.43 in the third year. Irrigators (now at $2.07) go to $2.30, $2.39, and $2.50. Thinners and Hoers (now getting $2.07) go to $2.27, $2.35, and $2.45. Tractor Drivers (now $2.80 an hour) go to $3.03, $3.14, and $3.28. Lettuce crews (now getting 40 1/2 cents a box) go to 42 1/2 cents this season,

the same 42 1/2 cents next season, and 43 1/2 cents in the third year. Broccoli cutters (now $4.50-$5.50 per bin) to $4.75-$5.85 per bin for three years. Plus increases in the 20 other job classifications. Also five more holidays over the three years. Vacations for most workers for the first time. And good wording in contract language, plus several other items. The money value is an increase of $4 million over three years. It's a good contract and the workers are pleased.

September 14, 1972 -- Today we had an interview with NBC-TV News. (I stood next to David while he did the talking.) Also calls from several other stations and newspapers. David and Gilbert spent several hours on the phone calling all the area field offices and hiring halls to get people back to work today.

Then we reviewed all our notes on the agreement and went out to the InterHarvest office and read over the contract they had typed, in order to verify it. Then David and Gilbert and Harold Bradshaw, president of InterHarvest, signed. (I had thought earlier that Bradshaw was introduced as a vice-president -- perhaps he also is, of United Brands.) After that, we drove back to La Paz and got back here late. It was a good day.

One thing I was also doing was figuring out the fairest way to divide the increases for the piece rate workers. It's pretty complex. For example, lettuce ground crews got 40 1/2 cents a carton in the old contract (1971-1972). That was divided as 32 cents for the trio (two cutters and a packer equally -- about 10.7 cents each; 4 cents for the closer (who staples the boxes shut); and 4 1/2 cents for the loader (who puts them on the truck). The new contract calls for a 2 cent raise to 42 1/2 cents a carton, but the workers choose how to carve it up. So I was doing some figuring to suggest to them the fairest way.

It came out to be 1.64 cents for the trio, .18 cents for the closer, and .18 cents

for the loader -- not much. But on a good day, cutters and packers can make $60.00 each, closers nearly $70.00, and loaders nearly $80.00. The raise gets them $3.50 or $4.00 more a day. Ground crews work only 1,200 or 1,300 hours a years (v. 2,080 hours in the standard 40-hour work week times 52 weeks). But they can average around $7.00 an hour and earn $8,000 to $9,000 a year. But they burn out in five or six years from all that stoop labor. (Every worker I saw appeared to be in his 20s or early 30s -- and they were all men.) And they have all kinds of travel and board expenses (some two-thirds or more are from Mexico -- legal immigrants with "green cards"). So, it's a hard life, but they're now getting some compensation for it. They have tremendous discipline and spirit, and nobody pushes them around anymore. They are the elite among farm workers.

Salinas was a good experience for me. I learned a lot.

September 15, 1972 -- Today I caught up on the grower-magazine clippings and also on the mail.

David met with Cesar to report on the negotiations with InterHarvest. He had been calling him several times a day from Salinas, so Cesar knew where we were at every step. Cesar mentioned to David that he didn't want me to get too wrapped up in negotiations, since he wants me to set up a research department and concentrate on that. But Cesar and I haven't had a talk yet on that, since he's been so busy, so I still may be able to get away for Freshpict, which should start in a week or 10 days. Their contract expires October 8.

Cesar also wants to go after White River and Buttes. The strike has been on since August 28. They're trying to get rid of the union, and we've had this contract since 1966 -- it was our very first one (then owned by Schenley). The strike has been moderately successful, but it's a struggle. As of today, the company has 150

strikebreakers in the fields (out of 300 workers). Cesar wants all the detail we can get on Buttes. I did a summary report a month ago, so now I'm additing more to it.

Tonight I went into Bakersfield to check some more things on Buttes, and I also saw two James Bond movies: "Thunderball" and "You Only Live Twice."

September 16, 1972 -- Today (Saturday) I worked some more on the Buttes material and the files, and in the afternoon most of us went over to Delano for the wedding of Cesar's oldest son Fernando, and a rally at the high school stadium for Mexican Independence Day (from Spain -- 1810) and the seventh anniversary of the start of the table grape strike in 1965.

There were about 3,000 people there, with all kinds of flags and banners from the ranch committees of the area -- tremendous color. I brought back a small UFW flag, which they were handing out to everyone. I took a whole roll of film, and got David to take my own picture. It was really something.

Also, since we have to do a lot of figuring of rates and prices and profits for negotiations, we asked Cesar if we could buy a calculator -- which is faster and more sophisticated and can do more things than an adding machine -- for our department. He said no -- too expensive. So I called my parents to see if they would donate one and they said yes. So we got an advance check from Andy Anzaldua and David and I picked one up at Montgomery Ward for $134.34. That was really nice of them, and the machine is tremendous.

September 17, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I just messed around and went into Bakersfield to the movies: a double bill with "The Out-of-Towners" (which I had seen) and "What's Up, Doc?" (which I finally broke down and saw) -- it was good and not as hokey as I was afraid it would be.

I'm really behind on the grower-magazine clippings and I still have to get busy

The official voice of the United Farmworkers

English

EL MALCRIADO

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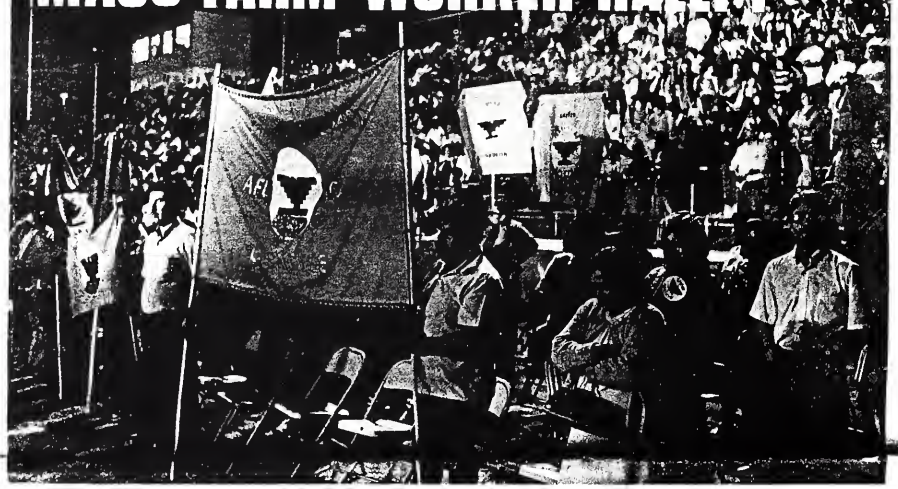
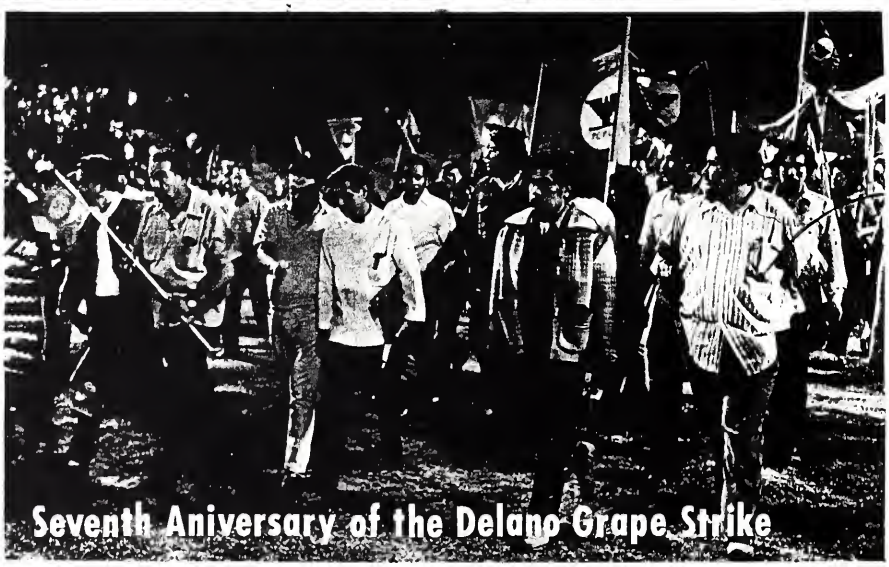
MASS FARM WORKER RALLY!





Seventh Aniversary of the Delano Grape Strike

DELANO, California -- More than 2,500 farm workers gathered for a massive rally September 16 celebrating Mexican Independence Day and the seventh anniversary of the beginning of the Grape Strike in the Delano area.

The rally began with a flag procession and march accompanied by a drum and bugle corps from Mexicali, Mexico and a color guard. Among the farm workers marching were the Union officers, ranch committee members and delegations representing the different departments of the Union.

After an invocation by Father Ed Kronske of Delano in which he emphasized "we are not alone" and "we shall overcome with our spirit and solidarity", speeches were given commerating the winning of Independence by Mexico on September 16, 1810.

A guest of honor, Samuel Rodriguez, head of the CTM (Mexico's National Labor Federation) in Mexicali, delivered a message of solidarity and brotherhood from Mexican working people. Also speaking were Epifanio Camacho, in Spanish, Richard Chavez, in English, and Saeed Al-Alas, in Arabic.

Also addressing themselves to the people were Ray Olivas, ranch committee president at Roberts Farms (Paso Ranch), Epifanio Camacho, ranch committee president at Jasmine Vineyards, Woodrow Hampton, ranch committee president at Roberts Farms (McFarland), and Andy Imutan, Union vice-president.

The highlight of the evening came when Union Director Cesar Chávez was introduced and greeted with cheers of "Viva César" and "Sí Se Puede." During his speech César spoke about our Union being made up of people of different races, nationalities and religions. He talked of the tremendous progress La Causa has made in the last few years.

César honored the sisters and brothers who are presently on strike against White River Farms. He hit at the corrupt labor contractor system which permits growers to get cheap professional strikebreakers. He condemned the Tulare County Sheriff's Department for attempting to break the strike by siding with the growers and labor contractors.

César called on farm workers to destroy Proposition 22 which he said "is the most filthy attempt to destroy our Union I have ever seen." Excerpts from César's speech and other coverage of the rally are on pages 6 and 7.

PLEASE NOTE

In the next issue of EL MALCRIADO full coverage of farm worker rallies in Salinas, Fresno and other areas.

on a detailed report on Buttes Gas & Oil, plus Purex (Freshpict) for the upcoming negotiations.

September 18, 1972 -- Today I've just been catching up on the files and clippings, and getting more on the Buttes Gas & Oil report for Cesar. He's now on a tour of farm worker areas in the state, rallying against Proposition 22, and also for the formal signing of the InterHarvest contract in Salinas at a rally on Wednesday. I did a breakdown of the pincipal benefits of the new contract for Andy Anzaldua, who's making up a leaflet to distribute to the workers at the other lettuce companies, so they can push for the union there.

September 19, 1972 -- More courthouse work today on Buttes and its companies. I got copies of the investors in BGO's three tax-loss "limited partnership" companies: Treecrop Company, 1971 Treecrop Company, and Jasmine Groves. They are similar to one of the Florida companies I was looking into last year -- American Agronomics -- where people in the $50,000 income bracket or higher get a big tax break by becoming "farmers." Most investors are lawyers and doctors and other wealthy types. Since the lists are recorded, I got copies, thinking that maybe we know some of them and they might help in pressure on White River and Buttes. One of the names was Peter Yarrow (maybe of Peter, Paul & Mary). I vaguely recall their doing a concert for the farm workers years ago. If so, and if it's him, maybe he can help. We're sending the lists around to some of our people who might be familiar with the names. Maybe it can help.

The leaflet on the new InterHarvest contract rates and terms was finalized today. It will be distributed to 5,000 farm workers at a rally in Salinas on Wednesday (today is Tuesday). It's intended for workers at other ranches -- to show them what we got at IH.

September 20, 1972 -- Today I went up to Fresno, a 2 1/2-hour drive from La

Paz, to check some courthouse material on White River for Richard Chavez, who's running the strike in Delano and Poplar. The company has gotten 250 scabs to replace the 300 workers, but they're still way behind in production. Richard wanted to know who insures Orange Belt Bus Lines (which has been carrying in the strikebreakers). He wants to tell their insurance company what they've been doing, and maybe get the insurance cancelled (through fear of damage to the busses). This is something of a bluff -- the strikers shout and bang on them when they can, but nothing beyond that. The workers accept the union's philosophy of nonviolence. And there is a pragmatic value as well -- violence would be counter-productive to the good image the union has among supporters throughout the country. The courthouse records had nothing on insurance, but we found out the name from our own insurance man. I also wanted to check on any holdings of Andy Cangemi of White River in Fresno County -- but he had none.

In Bakersfield at night I saw "Stand Up and Be Counted" and Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice" -- I'm feeling kind of guilty about catching a movie in the midst of all our troubles, but I guess I need the escape. "Stand Up and Be Counted" is supposed to be a study of the women's movement, but it's a real loser. The acting was bad, plot poor, and the issues that came up seemed pretty shallow and poorly done.

Tomorrow I have to put together the thing on Buttes for Cesar, who'll be back in La Paz late Thursday or Friday from his quick tour of the state on Proposition 22.

September 21, 1972 -- It's 1:30 a.m. and I've been working on the Buttes analysis since 8:30 a.m. I really enjoyed putting everything together, and I've got it about half typed. It'll be about eight or nine pages long, I think, with 30-40 pages of attachments, including a nine-color box chart showing all of Buttes' octopus connections (even reaching to Richard Nixon -- through political connections). Cesar should like it. I know he doesn't like a long report, so I condensed everything to one

page, plus the chart -- the rest elaborates, if he wants to see it. But it's good to have it in one place.

September 22, 1972 -- I finished the Buttes report at noon. It runs 12 pages. and I've been showing it around. It's the first really extensive analysis I've done here, and I think it came out great. I haven't seen Cesar with the report yet, but he should want it soon.

In local news stories for the past couple of days, Andy Cangemi of White River is blaming Dolores for the whole thing. She can be ornery, but he's not exactly telling the full story.

We had a community meeting in the evening. They're always interesting and good spirited. There was a Mass beforehand (with red vestments with a UFW eagle and tortillas consecrated) and a movie on farm workers in New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, called "Migrants: Dirt Cheap" -- done by Channel 7 in New York City as a half-hour special two months ago.

During the meeting, Cesar reported on the situation at White River Farms: many strikebreakers, and the company even brought in four harvesting machines two days ago, but the strikers were so angry that they lay down in front of them and then took out the keys and threw them away, so the company didn't use them. Cesar's trip around the state went over well. He also gave us some budget figures from today's meeting of the union's board of directors. It costs about $30,000 a month to run the boycott offices around the country; $30,000 a month for our 30-35 field offices in California, Arizona, and Florida (for servicing workers and enforcing the contracts with the companies); $35,000 a month for the La Paz administrative departments; plus about $10,000 a month in miscellaneous expenses. Added to that are extraordinary items like strike benefits ($4,000 a week at White River, plus Brown & Hill,

InterHarvest, and some minor ones -- about $50,000 in the past month).

Cesar told David the other day that he doesn't want me to go to negotiations any more, since he wants me to concentrate on setting up a research department. But he and I haven't talked about details for it. I think I'll still be able to get in on the White River negotiations when (and if) they start again, because of the Buttes report and because of being there for the sessions in July and August (at least I hope so).

September 23, 1972 -- I spoke with Cesar for 45 minutes today on Buttes Gas & Oil and White River. He liked the report, and it gives us a few angles to go on. Next week I'll check some more things and stop at the Guild Wine headquarters to see if I can find out more things about their marketing.

I mailed copies of the report to other people who might help, especially in identifying the names of the shareholder-partners in Buttes' three tax-shelter companies who might be friends of ours.

The latest El Malcriado came out today, with a photo of me (along with David and Gilbert and the Ranch Committee) in the InterHarvest negotiations in Salinas.

Tonight I went into Bakersfield for two movies: "Come Back Charlston Blue" with Godfrey Cambridge, and "Man and Boy" with Bill Cosby.

September 24, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I just laid around reading. Most of the people here went up to Fresno for a rally similar to last week's at Delano and others around the state. Cesar is really hitting hard on Proposition 22, and things look good as far as we can tell: a suit in California court by the Secretary of State to remove it from the ballot on the basis of fraud in signature collection; many new voters registered who'll vote against it if it's still on the ballot; and widespread publicity -- something in the papers all over the state almost every day for the past month, making it the most well known of all the 22 propositions.

INTERHARVEST SIGNS!

SALINAS, California -- On September 14, after 13 days of strike action, the 1,500 Inter Harvest workers in California and Arizona won a new Union Contract calling for increases in wages and other benefits that will total more than $4 million during the three years of the contract.

The new contract sets wage increases for workers in all of the company's 88 job categories. For a summary of the wage increases in some of the major categories see the diagram on this page.

The piece-rate wage for lettuce cutting went from 40 1/2 cents per carton to $ .425 this year and to $ .435 in 1974. The wage per carton is divided among five persons: two lettuce cutters, a packer, a closer and a loader.

The Union contract also extends the benefits of paid vacations to the majority of the workers. In the old contract, only 10% of the workers had paid vacations because to qualify for the benefit a worker had to amass 2,000 hours worked. Under the new contract the lettuce cutters, the celery workers and the broccoli workers only need 1,000 hours to qualify. And for the rest of the labor force, only 1,500 are needed in order to be eligible for paid vacations.

This means that paid vacations have been extended to 75% of the Inter Harvest workers. The contract requires that the company pay each worker qualifying for vacation pay 2 percent of his or her annual income.

The contract establishes the 8-hour day as the normal working day. For each hour worked overtime the comapny must pay an additional premium of $ .25 an hour, irrigators excepted.

The collective bargaining agreement also contains a new clause which represents a major defeat for a few of the companies' supervisors who have tried to destroy the Union. The clause, entitled "Harmonious Working Relations" states: "Any claim by the Union that an action on the job by any nonbargaining unit employe is disrupting harmonious working relations may be taken up as a grievance, and such nonbargaining unit employe will be subject to discipline by the company for violations of this section."

The new contract establishes Sunday as a "day of rest" and the company will pay 50 cents more an hour for working on Sundays. The company also agreed to provide the workers with bus transportation from one area to another.

Under the contract, the workers who live in company camps will pay less for meals: $4.00 per day instead of $4.26. The workers will also enjoy many other benefits that were already in the old contract and which are found in all of our Union contracts: the Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan; Union security; job security; health and safety; leaves of absence, etc.

After a contract was signed the sisters and brothers of Inter Harvest expressed their gratitude to farm workers throughout California and Arizona for their solidarity and support during the strike. ¡Viva La Causa!

(SE SE PUEDE)

El Malcriado September 29, 1972

The photo at right was taken during one of the negotiating sessions with InterHarvest. The 25-member Ranch Committee is from the top left around to the lower right. Jim Horgan is in the left center and to his left (with glasses, looking at the papers) is chief UFW negotiator David Burciaga.

Things are still very tough at White River. The strike is now four weeks old. The company is really hurting, and may break soon (we hope).

September 25, 1972 -- I spent most of the day in the Kern County Court House looking up more information on Buttes -- specifically getting more addresses of the names of shareholders in BGO's three tax-shelter companies. One of them -- Jasmine Groves -- has about 600-700 investor-partners.

Also, at Andy Anzaldua's request, I checked on our water rights at La Paz and got some original deeds and agreements going back to 1875, showing that the Southern Pacific Railroad is supposed to supply us with 20,000 gallons of water a day -- which is what I was looking for. All that went with the deed to La Paz, which is owned by Edward Lewis of Hollywood (a producer, I think, and supporter of ours). He bought it for us in 1970 from Kern County. It used to be the Stoneybrook Tuberculosis Sanatorium, but was abandoned years ago. There are about 200 acres and many buildings -- all for $208,350. Andy told me tonight that we're paying taxes on it and also paying Lewis $1,800 a month for ten years -- and then we'll own it.

Cesar wants to move quickly on this shareholder thing, so I had the whole Buttes report sent to Anna Puharich in New York City on Saturday. She's the head of our National Farm Worker Service Center there and knows everyone -- from Andy Warhol to Baby Jane Holzer to John Lindsay. She's a really wealthy "jet set"-type and has an apartment just off Central Park. She has all kinds of contacts and knows people like Peter Yarrow (one of the Treecrop Company partners). So we thought she might know others on the list. But she's been sick and out of touch for the past few days, so Andy called Marshall Ganz, who's in New York firming up the boycott there. He found that he was staying at her apartment, and that he had just finished reading the report I sent two days ago -- that was something. So he will be able to get right to it,

contacting those people and telling them what's going on at White River. In addition, the boycott cities all over the country are contacting their members of Congress and asking them to send telegrams to Buttes and to Sheriff Wiley of Tulare County, who has been harassing the strikers.

Things are really happening at White River. Today 75 strikers -- led by Richard Chavez and Dolores Huerta -- got themselves arrested for tresspassing into the fields to talk to the strikebreakers. They'll probably stay in jail a few days (rather than post bond) in order to build publicity. Also, we called the Immigration Service and they took 69 illegals (who were breaking the strike) out of the fields. In a few hours -- at 2:30 a.m. -- a busload of us from La Paz are going to leave to picket a labor contractor in Poplar or Fresno (I didn't hear for sure), who's been supplying strikebreakers. We're going to try to catch him at his house and keep him from taking his bus out.

September 26, 1972 -- About 20 of us left La Paz just before 3:00 a.m. for Joe Melenzez's house in Bakersfield. We got there a little before 4:00 a.m. and were joined by 15 or so other people who came separately. We marched in front of the house with flags and picket signs ("Melendez is a Scab" -- "Huelga White River" -- "Abajo Los Contratistas") till 5:30 a.m. Meanwhile, two police cars came, but they were even friendly, and several cars of workers drove by but didn't stop. One of Melendez's sons came out and drove one of their vans away, apparently to pick up some workers, so one of our cars followed it, for more harassment and maybe to scare the workers into not coming. Then at 5:30 a.m. eight or nine workers came out of Melendez's house with him (they probably snuck in his back door) and got into his other van. We put up a great shout of "Scab!" -- "Huelga!" -- "Vendido!" but they jumped in and drove away, followed by a couple of our cars. Two of the "scabs" Melendez had with him were our staff people, who had secretly hired on with him -- maybe they can bring some

strikebreakers out or learn some things from the inside. The police just shined lights on everything but didn't attempt to intervene. After that, we left and came back to La Paz. We may go again tomorrow.

I spent the afternoon at the Kern County Hall of Records again, checking on Jasmin Groves, Treecrop Company, and 1971 Treecrop Company -- BGO's three tax-shelter companies. Because the shareholders are "limited partners" in the company (that's why they get big tax benefits), their names have to be listed publicly. So I was getting their names and addresses from the 15-20 microfilm documents that had them. Then I'll send the information to Anna Puharich or Marshall Ganz in New York to see if they know any of them, or can make contact with them even if they don't. We may also send letters to them explaining the situation at White River Farms. There are 500-600 in Jasmin and 100-200 in each of the Treecrops.

Things are pretty much the same at White River. The company has injunctions against mass picketing, but we still have several pickets spread out there and our people have been harassing the labor contractors. While I was at the court house, another group left La Paz to picket Joe Melendez's house this evening.

Cesar's still off on a road trip. In another day or two, I'm going to interview Guild Wine Company to see if we can find out more about their marketing. Then I'll see Cesar when he gets back.

Tonight I went down to the County Fair in Bakersfield, looking especially for any mechanical harvesting equipment, but I didn't see any. (There was only one fruit catch frame.) The fair was remarkable in that it was an exact copy of the Pasco County Fair in Florida -- only on a much larger scale: the same kind of midway, exhibits, cattle and horses, and even accents.

<u>September 27, 1972</u> -- Today I did more work on compiling information on

Jasmin Groves and other things from the court house. I also put up one of the Buttes charts and summaries on the main bulletin board, so people could see how it fits together.

September 28, 1972 -- We had another early morning ride at 2:00 a.m. into Bakersfield to meet a labor contractor's bus -- the Orange Belt Bus Lines -- and have coffee and donuts for the strikebreakers as we tried to convince them not to work. White River got an injunction against our mass picketing, so we brought no flags or signs and decided to try this tactic instead. As it happened, they didn't show up where we expected them, so we must have scared them off to another place. We left after waiting till 5:00 a.m. and got back to La Paz at 6:00 a.m.

All this week, everyone has been walking around half asleep from all our night-time and early morning activity. And La Paz is looking quite deserted.

I'm still working on more refinements on the Buttes analysis and should go up to interview Guild Wine Company tomorrow.

This evening Jerry Cohen, one of the union's attorneys, gave a chilling report on what Proposition 22 would do if it were passed. I had heard much of it before, but he was really effective in his explanation. The Farm Bureau is promoting the initiative as a reasonable bill that would end unfair secondary boycotts and provide secret ballot elections to end the chaos in agriculture. But virtually 95% of the workers wouldn't be able to vote in the union election. The key clause is: "The election shall be set at a time when the number of temporary workers eligible to vote does not exceed the number of permanent workers." And there are other restrictive clauses. Furthermore, there would be no right to strike. Growers could get a 60-day restraining order, which is enough to cover almost all harvests; and they could get it extended, if need be. Secondary boycotts ("Don't Shop at Publix") would be banned; it's made a crime

Don't chop him down!

Vote

NO

on

22

Justice & fair play for farm workers

You could be next!

Proposition 22 would deny farm workers their democratic voting rights . . . end legal consumer boycotts . . . cripple the right of workers to strike . . . reach out beyond farm workers to anyone handling or processing agricultural products.

And what's even worse: Proposition 22 would set a precedent that could cripple your union, too.

Vote **NO** on **22!**

United Labor Committee to Defeat Proposition 22

John F. Henning, *executive secretary-treasurer, California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO*

Cesar Chavez, director, *United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO*

CO-CHAIRMEN

995 Market Street, San Francisco, Ca 94103

punishable by one year in jail and a $5,000 fine. And there would be virtually no primary boycott rights. You couldn't use generic names like "Boycott Lettuce" or trade names like "Boycott Sunkist" (a co-op). The only primary boycott allowed would be "Boycott Giumarra Grapes" -- specifically identifying the grower with whom you have a labor dispute -- and there are even limits on this. The penalty is a year in jail and a $5,000 fine.

Even if you won the election and got as far as negotiations, there are all kinds of things mentioned as non-negotiable management rights: contracting (no hiring hall), methods of harvest (machines, pesticides), and a number of other things. The Farm Bureau really did a beautiful job with it.

Jerry Cohen said that if Proposition 22 passes, the union would turn into "just a civil rights movement."

We have some chances in court to get it off the ballot on the grounds of the fraudulent way petitions were obtained. If it passes, we might get parts of it decalred unconstitutional (free speech, assembly, equal protection of the laws). But if Proposition 22 does pass, it will be a large boost for getting similar bills into the 15 or so other states where they're about to be introduced. If it is soundly defeated, then we may have a breather for a couple of years, even in the other states.

A couple of other people in the meeting said that in straw canvasses some of our people were doing, only about one in five people knew anything about the substance of the proposal, and a high percentage of those who knew something about it opposed it. But unless we really spread the word on the substance, the people who don't know about it may be enough to carry it, because the Attorney General's summary, which appears over the lever in the polling booth, makes it sound like a good law: "Provides secret ballot elections in agriculture; sets list of unfair labor practices;

. . ." We sued to get a more accurate summary, but the court refused to hear the case. So we have a lot of work. Cesar is touring the state now, and he'll have a good deal of TV time later in October as the election gets closer. By then we'll all be going house to house and talking to groups.

White River continues the same -- 135 people are still in jail, including Richard and Dolores.

September 29, 1972 -- This morning I started out to interview Guild Wineries and Distilleries but never made it. The water hose on the car broke (fortunately at a gas station), and the place was farther away than I thought -- about four to four and a half hours from here, at Lodi near Sacramento. So I figured I'd get there too late, so I turned back and will try again on Monday. Also, I think psychologically I'm not up for it. I'm not good at such deception. But it has to be done, and I'll do it.

On the way back, I did some more court house work in Bakersfield on the tax shelter investors and got a chance to check into one I've been meaning to: Paul A. Samuelson. His name sounded familiar so I verified his address in an old Who's Who, which identified him as a professor of economics at MIT. Then I checked the encyclopedia under Nobel Prizes and it turns out that he won the Nobel Prize for Economics in 1970. Jasmin Groves must be a good investment.

So now we have Peter Yarrow (who gave a benefit concert for the union several years ago), Gene Tunney (the boxer -- whose son Senator John Tunney finally endorsed the lettuce boycott a month ago after shilly-shallying for the last couple of years), and a Nobel Prize winner, who may have some sensitive principles (even though he lives in Belmont, Massachusetts -- headquarters of the John Birch Society).

I caught another drive-in movie tonight: "Skyjacked" and "The Carey Treatment" (with Jennifer O'Neill -- a so-so medical mystery).

September 30, 1972 -- After messing with the files and trying to organize backed-up material, I went into Bakersfield and saw the Woody Allen film "Everything You Always Wanted To Know About Sex But Were Afraid To Ask." The second film (they show mostly double-features here) was "Lady Liberty" with Sophia Loren. It was a top-notch light comedy and the best film I've seen since I've been here.

October 1972

October 1, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I caught up on the clippings and letters. My room is piled high with newspapers and magazines and all kinds of mixed-up files and papers.

Tonight a bunch of us went into Bakersfield to leaflet black and chicano neighborhoods on the White River strike. There were about 25-30 of us (including some workers from the field office in Lamont) and we passed out 1,000 leaflets in 2 1/2 hours house-to-house. We were mainly asking them not to work at White River during the strike, since the company is scrambling all around to get people (and having some success -- but production is way down and way behind). Reaction was very good and friendly, and many people knew of it already. There's been a lot of newspaper and radio coverage. They promised to spread the word. It was a good time.

Tomorrow there's to be a general work stoppage in the southern part of the San Joaquin Valley. We're hoping to get 2,000 or so workers from all our ranches in the area to come to White River and picket in defiance of the court order against mass picketing.

There are only about 25 of us La Paz now, with most of the staff pulled out on the Proposition 22 and White River campaigns, plus the Arizona Recall, and with Cesar still on his state tour. We are all hungering to go down tomorrow to the mass picketing in Poplar, but those in charge don't want us to go because of the probability of winding up in the clink, and there are things to be done here. One of the young women said to that: "I am in the clink." (La Paz has kind of a "prison" atmosphere, especially to people without cars. But I like it, especially since I'm in and out a lot.)

October 2, 1972 -- I'm in San Francisco, and I had a good day today. The Guild interview at their central cellars in Lodi (near Sacramento, 4 1/2 hours from La Paz)

went well. I was apprehensive about it, not particularly liking to go around as "Dr. James J. Garrett."

Guild Wineries and Distilleries is a co-op of 600 or so growers, of which White River Farms is the largest member. Cesar asked me to get more information on their marketing, after I showed him the analysis of Buttes a week and a half ago. So today I talked with one of Guild's accountants and found some good general information, so I decided to come over to San Francisco (an hour's drive from Lodi) to talk with someone at their executive offices tomorrow to try to get a little more specific information.

I told the guy today that I was a teacher interested in agricultural co-ops, and he went from there, giving me a lot of stuff on Guild's marketing (New York, New England, the Midwest, and California -- all in small liquor stores rather than suopermarkets). I feel vaguely awkward about this, but it is for good purposes, and these people really are screwing the workers, especially White River, trying to bust the union after we've had a contract since 1966. I hope I do as well tomorrow.

October 3, 1972 -- It was a good day today. I went over to Guild's San Francisco headquarters and had a brief interview with the company's public relations manager. He didn't have time to give me any clarification on the things I got from the accountant at Lodi yesterday, but he did give me their current annual report, grower's handbook, and a fact sheet -- all of which had some good stuff in them. I was also anxious to get out of there before someone from the White River negotiations walked in and exposed me.

I stopped off at McGovern headquarters in San Francisco, and then decided to drive over to the University of California at Davis (near Sacramento) while I was in the area, since I wanted to check on mechanical harvesting and this is the leading

agricultural research school in the state. It's like the University of Florida's "Institute for Food and Agricultural Sciences" in Gainesville and does a lot of grower-oriented studies. I picked up a bunch of pamphlets on all kinds of mechanized crops and also talked with the head man in wine grape harvesting (H. P. Olmo). He gave me a paper he delivered last year in France and also several other articles he'd written with the latest dope on wine grape harvesters -- each replaces 20 people, and there were 74 operating in California last year, picking about 12% of the state's crop. This is exactly what I've been trying to find out.

I'm so unused to using a false name that when Dr. Olmo asked me to write down my name and address, I wrote "James J. H" -- and then scratched out the "H" and wrote "Garrett." He looked at me oddly. The address I gave him was was my own in Florida. I usually use David Burciaga's post office box in Bakersfield as a "mail drop," since people might know that Keene, California, is the headquarters of the UFW. When I write off for things like annual reports and other corporate materials, I use the name "David Burke," thinking that the post office will still deliver it, since it's close to "Burciaga."

The Viticulture and Enology Department (where I got this information) is grower-friendly and unsympathetic to the UFW. The walls were plastered with bumper stickers: "Eat California Grapes -- The Forbidden Fruit," "Make Wine, Not War," and "Chavez Eats Grapes."

Then I drove back and stopped off in Fresno to see "Hickey & Boggs" (a private eye mystery with Robert Culp and Bill Cosby), and "The Return of Sapata" (a European-made western). I really have a compulsion about movies lately.

<u>October 4, 1972</u> -- Lots of things happened today. I put together the material from the trip on Guild for a report for Cesar (but he was in and out today).

We also had a brief community meeting to pick up the spirits of the people dashing around after White River strikebreakers. Carloads of people are going down to Bakersfield every morning before dawn to search for scabs and try to get them not to break the strike. Everybody's running around on this now, plus 22, Arizona, and the other battles. Also, negotiations with Freshpict started today in El Centro (near the Mexican border). David said he really wished I could go. Me, too, but there are lots of interesting things happening here.

I spoke for an hour on the phone with our people in Oakland (Buttes' headquarters) to fill them in on the company. They've started picketing there and this Friday (today is Wednesday) 40 White River strikers are going up there to picket (a four five-hour drive from Delano), and five are going to do a sit-in at the offices to get themselves arrested.

We're also contacting other unions dealing with Buttes and asking for their help. We may go on a Guild Wine boycott when the harvest ends in late October.

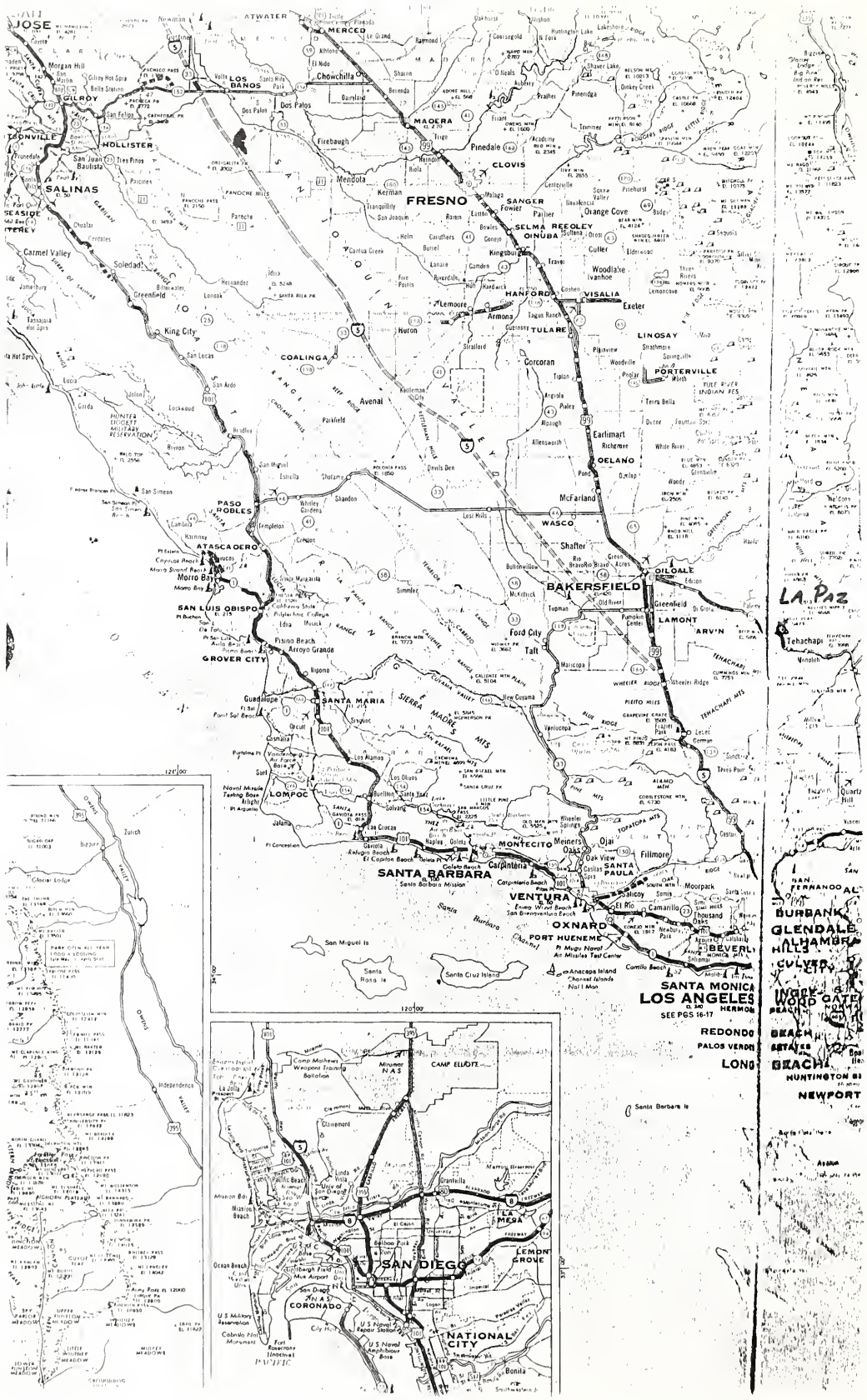
Cesar is really attacking them on all fronts.

This afternoon, he issued a press release over AP and UPI, and tonight I spent two hours on the phone to newspapers, radio, and TV stations in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sacramento, Salinas, Fresno, and Bakersfield, telling them that the White River strikers would start making citizens' arrests of the strikebreakers starting tomorrow at 7:00 a.m. They said they'd try to be there to cover it.

Tomorrow I'm going down to Bakersfield at 4:00 a.m. with a group of others from La Paz to leaflet strikebreakers leaving for White River -- if we can find them.

October 5, 1972 -- I'm in Salinas again. Lately it's been like whipping back and forth between Miami and Pensacola to check things out.

David is down in El Centro near the Mexican border with the Freshpict


SAN JOSE
GILROY
HOLLISTER
SALINAS
MONTEREY
SEASIDE
Carmel Valley
Soledad
King City
ATWATER
MERCED
Chowchilla
LOS BANOS
Dos Palos
MADERA
Firebaugh
Mendota
FRESNO
CLOVIS
Pinedale
SANGER
Fowler
SELMA
REEDLEY
DINUBA
Orange Cove
HANFORD
VISALIA
Exeter
TULARE
Lemoore
Armona
Corcoran
LINDSAY
PORTERVILLE
COALINGA
Avenal
Earlimart
DELANO
McFarland
WASCO
Shafter
BAKERSFIELD
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VENTURA
Ventura Naval Beach
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LOS ANGELES
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BEACH
BEVERLY HILLS
HUNTINGTON BEACH
LA PAZ
Tehachapi
Mojave
Lancaster
Palmdale
Pasadena
Zurich
Independence
Owens Valley
Glacier Lodge
Camp Mohawk Weapons Training Battalion
Miramar NAS
CAMP ELLIOTT
Claremont
Linda Vista
Pacific Beach
Mission Bay
Mission Beach
Ocean Beach
Balboa Park
Lindbergh Field Mus Airport
SAN DIEGO
CORONADO
Naval Station
U S Naval Amphibious Base
U S Naval Repair Station
U S Military Reservation
Cabrillo Nat Monument
Fort Rosecrans (Inactive)
NATIONAL CITY
Bonita
Granitella
EL CAJON
LA MESA
LEMON GROVE
Santee
Mira Mesa
Miramar
Pacific Ocean
Pacific Beach
Mission Beach
Ocean Beach
Point Loma
Coronado Is
Imperial Beach
Chula Vista
Otay
Tijuana
Mexico
Pacific Ocean
Ft Rosecrans (Inactive)
Cabrillo Nat Monument
Bonita
Sweetwater R
Otay R
Tijuana R
Mission Bay
Coronado Is
Point Loma
Ocean Beach
Pacific Beach
Mission Beach
Balboa Park
Lindbergh Field
Mus Airport
Naval Station
U S Naval Amphibious Base
U S Naval Repair Station
U S Military Reservation
Cabrillo Nat Monument
Fort Rosecrans (Inactive)
NATIONAL CITY
Bonita
Imperial Beach
Chula Vista
Otay
Tijuana
Mexico
Pacific Ocean
Pacific Beach
Mission Beach
Ocean Beach
Point Loma
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negotiations, and he asked me to check out some court house stuff in various places. Freshpict has been selling land for the past year and going from lettuce and celery to crops that require less hand labor. So we need to know exactly what kinds of agreements they've made on this land because there may be some underhanded things going on. So tomorrow I'll check in Salinas and Firebaugh, and if it amounts to anything, maybe go on to their holdings in El Centro and Arizona.

I'm really exhausted. Fifteen of us got away from La Paz at 4:00 a.m. this morning to try to find White River strikebreakers loading up in Bakersfield and give them a leaflet and try to keep them from going. There were three of us in the group I was with, and we found a pick-up point where ultimately 40 people arrived. They wouldn't tell us where they were working, so we waited and soon the police came (one of the people called them), and we knew they were White River strikebreakers. We passed out leaflets and then when the bus came (Orange Belt Stages), Virginia Jones of our group got on the bus and started talking to the workers in Spanish to dissuade them. She's very bold. The driver, a private security officer from the "Delano Private Patrol" yelled and screamed and got the real cops, but she got off before they were about to arrest her. Then we drove around and talked to more workers, but found no more scabs. It was a good session, and even though they didn't turn back, we did get it into their minds and also took down the 7 or 8 license plate numbers at the pick-up point for more talk later.

I also saw Cesar today with the report on the Guild interviews and a summary with more on Buttes. Not tremendous information, but it's something. He's having the boycott office send a letter to all the Guild officials and known distributors saying the boycott is pending.

Then David called and I took off for Salinas.

October 6, 1972 -- Today I checked out Freshpict's holdings and arrangements in Salinas, Madera, and Fresno, and I called David Burciaga a couple of times in El Centro at the negotiations. Freshpict doesn't own much of anything, and apparently has lots of leases and other arrangements it doesn't file in the court houses.

Lots of news about us on the radio. The picketing at Buttes' headquarters in Oakland went OK, but the sit-in didn't go. Dolores was arrested again in Poplar and is bringing a $570,000 suit against White River for false arrest. Our court suit on Proposition 22 fraud was dismissed -- the judge said he didn't want to "interfere with the electoral process" so close to the election. Also, as I've been driving around all over the state, I'm seeing many billboards along the highway: "For Farmworkers' Rights, Vote Yes on 22." A complete delusion. It's sponsored by the "Fair Labor Practices Committee" (which is the Farm Bureau).

I didn't get much tangible information today, but at least we know where we're at.

October 7, 1972 -- Today everyone got word to pull out for Los Angeles and San Francisco for the last month of the Proposition 22 campaign. They're only keeping a skeleton crew of 10 or 12 people at La Paz, including me -- for research on the upcoming negotiations with D'Arrigo Brothers, Pic & Pac, and other things that may come up. That suits me, but I hope I can get out on it in the last week or 10 days at least.

We made another foray into Bakersfield this morning at 4:00 a.m. to try to find White River strikebreakers. There were a dozen of us in four cars, and we cruised around the black and chicano farmworker neighborhoods for two hours looking for pick-up points (which change every day to keep us guessing) and following labor busses and vans to see if they were going to White River. No luck today in finding the Orange

Belt bus as we did the other day, but we did speak with some workers and get the word spread a little.

Workers at our other ranches will be going house to house Sunday (tomorrow) with a leaflet talking with the 30-35 strikebreakers we have identified to try to get them not to break the strike. But the La Paz staff probably won't be involved in White River directly any longer, now that everyone's going out on the initiative campaign. It's been a good variety of experience for me.

October 8, 1972 -- The boycott office got a lettuce pledge from George McGovern the other day.

Today I just lazed around, like I do on most Sundays, and also went into Tehachepi and saw "Junior Bonner" (with Steve McQueen) and "Kotch" (with Walter Matthau).

October 9, 1972 -- More work on organizing research material today.

October 10, 1972 -- I'm in Calexico on the Mexican border. David called this morning and asked me to come down to help with the Freshpict negotiations, so I drove down the 320 miles and got here in the middle of the afternoon.

No progress yet in the talks. They started last Wednesday (today is Tuesday) and the contract expired Sunday night. But we gave them an extension with no strike -- that's the last thing we need now with all the other things we've got going. It's really getting rough at White River -- shots fired into our office in Poplar, our people throwing rocks at strikebreakers, and so on.

I drove around the Calexico area with two Freshpict tractor drivers to see where Freshpict's leased land is so that I can find out who owns it on the tax assessor's rolls, and then see if they've filed any leases or other agreements with Freshpict.

ONE MAJOR PARTY CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF the U. S. HAS SIGNED THE LETTUCE PLEDGE.

Dear farm workers:

I support your non-violent efforts to bring justice to America's migrant farm workers:

1. I pledge not to eat or buy iceberg lettuce until growers agree to sign contracts with the United Farm Workers.

2. I pledge to tell my friends about the lettuce boycott.

3. I pledge to raise the issue of the lettuce boycott wherever I see lettuce (e.g.-conventions, restaurants, church dinners, fund-raising dinners, airplanes, etc.)

Send to:

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
2705 Detroit Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44113
(213) 696-2686

or

1015 Vine Street
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202
(513) 651-3245

opeiu-30
labor donated

(Name) _____

(Address) _____

(City & State) _____

(Telephone #) _____

(Store I shop at) _____

WILL THE OTHER ONE COME THROUGH ???

Then tonight, David and I and Elaine Graves (who's been taking notes for him -- she's been transferred from the El Malcriado staff at La Paz to the Negotiations Department as a secretary for him) went over to Mexicali, Mexico. It's part of the same town as Calexico, just over the border. But Calexico is a small town and Mexicali is a huge city. We bought some things -- I got a fancy cowboy hat, and a Mexican dress shirt, plus cigarettes at 11 cents a pack. Then we saw two movies -- one with Cantinflas and another called "Rosa Blanca" about a Mexican plantation taken over and gouged by a US oil company in 1937. It was made in the 1940s and was very heavy in tone, but good. Then we ate and came back here to the Desert Inn in El Centro (rooms at $8.50 each for the three of us in two rooms).

October 11, 1972 -- I spent all morning in the court house in El Centro looking up Freshpict leases, and found some things but nothing really revealing. If they have any secret plans, they're keeping them to themselves and not filing them.

Then I dashed over to Calexico just after noon, but the negotiations -- which are taking place in the Hotel De Anza -- had broken for lunch. Things started to move a little yesterday, and the company really came on today with some good concessions. We still have major things remaining on language, and we haven't discussed wages and fringes yet. But Freshpict has hinted that they'll accept the InterHarvest package, and we won't accept anything less. At this point, we'll be happy to get any decent contract, with all the things we've got going, but Freshpict knows that a Purex boycott would really be damaging to them. So we're hoping to finish in a day or two, but you can never tell.

We went across the border to Mexicali again tonight. It was tremendous. The three of us walked around for a couple of hours. It's a city of 300,000 people just across from Calexico, California, with 10,000 (as if Dade City were sitting on top of

Tampa). It's just like any large US city, but more open shops along the streets. I got a nice belt and some shoes.

October 12, 1972 -- Today we met for only two hours this morning and then did some work prior to the afternoon session. But the company called and postponed it till tomorrow morning, saying they needed to type out and go over a lot of things. They're giving us the run around. So unless it goes well tomorrow, we'll be pretty certain they want to hold out until after the election, taking their chances on Proposition 22.

Tonight we went over to Mexicali again for a couple of hours.

October 13, 1972 -- We met with Freshpict all day long from ten in the morning to eight tonight in the De Anza Hotel in Calexico. They were beating all around the bush, not yielding on anything, as if they didn't want a contract at all -- just delaying to see if Proposition 22 would pass and then we'd be in a very weak position. The issues under discussion are language and the wording of various clauses in the contract covering Union Security, Grievance Procedure, Access, Contract-Grown Crops, Subcontracting of Crops, Hiring, No Strike Clause, Successor Clause, and a few others. We haven't even gotten to wages and fringe benefits, which will be taken up after the language is agreed to (and which will probably be the same as InterHarvest -- we can't settle for anything less and they won't go for anything more). All of this sounds very complicated, but in a fundamental way the wording of these clauses sets conditions between us and the company on what each can do in those areas. So we need things favorable to us, and they're trying to get the same thing for themselves. We've reached agreement on a half-dozen minor clauses; another 10-15 are not disputed from the old contract; and we're down to 8 or 9 key ones, where they keep pushing for changes in the 1970 contract that will put them in a strong position and make it difficult for us to operate.

David spoke with Cesar this afternoon. He was much more optimistic about beating Proposition 22 -- things look very good in LA and SF -- so he said to delay negotiations till after the election, when our people now busy on the initiative would be free to help out on a Freshpict strike and Purex boycott. They won't settle on any decent terms till we put pressure on them, and right now we have no muscle in the negotiations, so we're not getting anywhere.

So when the company asked for a three-day recess tonight, David said we'd like a 2 1/2-week recess till October 31, "because we have all kinds of work to do," etc. That kind of psyched them because they thought we wanted a quick settlement before the election, but they accepted. On October 27 or 28, David will telegram them and say we can't meet till November 8 or so because of too much work. Then we'll strike them and maybe boycott. They've been real bastards messing around like this and they won't do anything until they're forced. Even if we lose on 22, we think we'll get them anyway.

So tomorrow we'll head back to La Paz.

I played chess tonight with David with a new set (wood and bone) that I got in Mexicali (for a negotiated price of $14.00). He's never played before and he's really interested in learning, so maybe we'll get a chance to play some more.

October 14, 1972 -- Today we drove back to La Paz after a brief trip to Mexicali to pick up some things. Elaine Graves drove back with me and David went on by himself. She's a nice person but she sometimes gets on David's nerves and isn't of much help to him. He's impatient with her, but also kids her. I think that's why he asked me to come down -- to check things in the court house, but also so he'd have someone to discuss things with. He and I work well together. He feels a lot of responsibility in the negotiations, and even though there are 30-35 workers sitting in

and even though he never proposes anything without consulting them, he also feels pretty much alone. So we talk over things a good deal during breaks and back at the motel working.

October 15, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I just lazed around and also caught a movie in Bakersfield -- George C. Scott in "The New Centurions." Interesting and very sympathetic to the police, though not so much so as Jack Webb. The drinking straw poll was bad news -- McGovern 42.9% and Nixon 57.1%.

October 16, 1972 -- I caught up on the mail and the files today.

October 17, 1972 -- More work on the files and mail today, including some things for Suzie Gagan of the Tampa boycott, information for a student in Miami who's doing a report on how our contracts compare with others, and a reply to a farm worker who wanted information on the union in Washington and Oregon.

The White River Farms wine grape harvest will conclude in a day or two, but we probably won't do anything on the boycott till after the election.

Another piece of bad news is that we lost the H. P. Hood citrus contract in Florida. They sold their land and we had no successor clause to assure that if the company sells, the union goes with the land. Some contracts have real gaps in them. Sometimes you have to trade those items away in order to get the company to agree on other clauses.

October 18, 1972 -- I spent an hour on the phone today with a journalist named Porter from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, who's in San Francisco researching a story on Proposition 22. He sounded like a good guy and I gave him all kinds of information, which he thought was helpful. He was especially interested in playing up the angle of Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz coming out in favor of the initiative, while at the same time he is involved the Ralston-Purina, a large agricultural corporation, of which

he is a director and major stockholder.

In the evening, Leroy Chatfield, based in Los Angeles and the director of our campaign against Proposition 22, called to ask me to meet him tonight between midnight and 1:00 a.m. at a restaurant halfway between La Paz and Los Angeles for a project on 22 he wants me to help with.

October 19, 1972 -- This has been one of the longest days of my life. I only got an hour of sleep between 6:00 a.m. and 7:00 a.m.

Venustiano Olguin, the editor of El Malcriado, and I had a two-hour meeting with Leroy Chatfield, who's running the initiative campaign, in a restaurant between here and LA -- we decided to meet roughly halfway -- just after midnight. Venustiano took him the lay-out of a special issue on Proposition 22 for final proofing and approval. We got back to La Paz at 4:00 a.m.

We decided to have 250,000 printed in Fresno and then the two of us would rent trucks and drop the special issues off all over the state: me to take 135,000 to LA, 25,000 to the San Bernadino-Orange County areas, and 15,000 to San Diego; and Venusiano to take 55,000 to San Francisco-Sacramento, with the rest for Fresno and Bekersfield.

After only an hour of sleep, we left at 7:00 a.m. in order to reach the printer in Fresno by 8:00 a.m., since it would take all day to run the issues off. While Venustiano was making the printing arrangements, I went off to rent two trucks for the runs to the SF area and to LA-San Diego. I also called Leroy in Los Angeles for expenses, and he arranged a Bank of America transfer of $350.00, which I picked up on the spot.

At first it looked like I'd need a 20-foot monster U-Haul truck to take the 175,000 copies that I'll be driving south. I picked it up for $124.00 and drove it back

to the print shop for loading, but we discovered it was far too big -- which pleased me, because it scared the hell out of me, imagining myself coming down those mountains like the Red Ball Express on the Burma Road. I was happy to trade it back for a 12-foot model, which the agent agreed to. It handles very easily and is only slightly larger than one of those pick-up truck bed campers. I also got a 12-foot job for the SF trip. I was running around all day arranging for the trucks.

But the El Malcriados were taking longer and longer to print. By 8:00 p.m., the printer had only 60,000 done, after working all day. So we decided to get away tomorrow, after a good night's sleep.

The issue is oriented to middle-class readers. Venustiano, who put it together, was very pleased at the way it turned out.

We also stopped over at the union office in Fresno, and while there we saw a young woman trying to serve a restraining order on Gilbert Padilla (one of our vice-presidents) from Buttes Gas & Oil. The office people told her he was not there (he was) -- she'd been chasing after him all day long.

I'm seeing dozens of billboards all around here, put up by the Farm Bureau: "For Farm Workers' Rights, Vote Yes on Proposition 22."

October 20, 1972 -- I'm in Los Angeles at the boycott house -- a huge old house where a dozen of the UFW boycott staff are living.

I dropped off 135,000 of the Proposition 22 special issue of El Malcriado at our office downtown tonight, after a five-hour drive from Fresno. The truck really handled well in the mountains. The office is really plush and lived-in neat -- a four-room suite in a nice office building, with all kinds of literature, posters, bumper stickers, phone banks, and staffers coordinating the 100+ people working full-time for us on the Los Angeles Proposition 22 campaign.

Citizens Against Proposition 22

LABOR UNIONS

California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO
All county central labor council s
International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union
United Auto Workers, Region 6
Western Conference of Teamsters

CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES

George Brown
Pete Stark
Jim Stewart
Julian Camacho
Vince Lavery
Michael Shapiro

ASSEMBLY CANDIDATES

Richard Alatorre
Dr. Ray Gonzales
Juan Valadez

CHURCH GROUPS

Southern California Board of Rabbis
Southern California Council of Churches
Northern California Ecumenical Council
Religious Society of Friends
Southern California Convention of Christian Churches
General Assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Church
Executive Committee of the United Church of Christ, San Diego
Board of Missions, Southern California-Arizona Conference, United Methodist Church
Presbytery of Los Ranchos
Presbytery of the Pacific
Coalition of Urban Ministries
Black Catholic Caucus
Interfaith Committee for Reconciliation and Justice, San Diego
Board of Christian Social Concerns, Southern-California-Arizona Conference United Methodist Church.
Franciscan Fathers of California
So. California Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church
Interfaith Committee for Justice for Farmworkers, San Francisco
Interfaith Committee to Aid Farmworkers, Los Angeles
California Migrant Ministry
National Farm Workers Ministry
Senate of Priests of Los Angeles R.C. Archdiocese
Hispanic Christian Coalition of So. California

POLITICAL AND CIVIC ACTION GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS

Charles Manatt, Chairman California State Democratic Party
1972 California Democratic Platform
1972 National Democratic Platform
American Civil Liberties Union
Community Action Board, Santa Clara County
Russell E. Blewett, Mayor
Los Angeles City Council
Sacramento City Council
San Francisco County Board of Supervisors
Mayor Richard Marriott of Sacramento
Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco
Mrs. Coretta King
Mexican-American Political Association
National Assn. for Community Development
American Civil Liberties Union
Centro de Acción Social Autónomo
Derek C. Bok, President Harvard University
Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling
NAACP

ENTERTAINMENT PERSONALITIES

Jack Lemmon
Dennis Weaver
Robert Culp
Kris Kristofferson
Seymour Cassel
Shelly Winters
Fred Zinneman
Joan Baez
Warren Beatty
John Lennon and Yoko Ono
Paul Mazursky
Jack Nicholson
Paul Simon
Smothers Brothers

U.S. SENATORS

Senator George McGovern
Senator Alan Cranston
Senator John Tunney
Senator Edward Kennedy
Senator Hubert H. Humprey

CONGRESSMEN

Edward Roybal
Ron Dellums
Phillip Burton
Don Edwards
Chet Holifield
Tom Rees
Edlo Powell
Jerome R. Waldie

STATE SENATORS

State Senator David Roberti
State Senator Nicholas Petris
State Senator George Moscone (Senate Majority Leader)
State Senator Mervyn Dymally Senate Caucus Chairman)
State Senator Anthony Beilenson
State Senator Alfred H. Fong
State Senator Albert S. Rodda
State Senator Milton Marks
State Senator Alfred E. Alquist
State Senator Arlen Gregorio
State Senator Walter Stiern
State Senator Anthony Beilenson

STATE ASSEMBLY

March K. Fong
Ken Meade
John J. Miller
Leo T. McCarthy
John F. Foran
John Vasconcellos
Dixon Arnett

ASSEMBLY (CONTINUED)

Yvonne Braithwaite Burke
Alan Sieroty
Henry Waxman
Bob Moretti (Speaker of Assembly)
Walter Karabian
John Burton (Chairman, Rules Committee)
Willie L. Brown, Jr. (Chairman, Ways & Means)
Charles Warren (Chairman, Judiciary Committee)
Jack Fenton, (Majority Leader)
Alister McAlister
Walter W. Powers
John T. Knox
Leo J. Ryan
Alex P. Garcia
Bill Greene
Leon D. Ralph
Joe Gonsalves
Peter R. Chacon
Kenneth Cory
Robert W. Crown

Los Angeles Times

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 16, 1972

NO on Farm Labor Proposition 22

As California moves into the decade of the '70s maintaining and improving its position as the leading agricultural state in the nation, the need for legislation to bring stability to farm labor relations becomes increasingly apparent.

No state or federal labor legislation covers farm workers now. Unions, chiefly Cesar Chavez' AFL-CIO United Farm Workers Union, organize as best they can by strikes and boycotts. Neither grower nor worker has the protection of law to delineate the rights and define the responsibilities of each.

Good farm legislation would strike a balance between the interests of farm owner and farm laborer to the end that California agriculture as a whole would continue to prosper. Such legislation would have to make special provision for the special conditions of farm economics and farm work; both grower and laborer are extraordinarily vulnerable to economic pressure at harvest time.

Proposition 22 on the November ballot, an Agricultural Labor Relations Act, purports to bring order from chaos on the California farm. Unfortunately it would not.

It would provoke, not prevent, conflict on the farms. It would retard, not encourage, the passage of national farm labor legislation, which would put California farmers on an equal footing with producers in other states.

Proposition 22 is unfair, because it would disfranchise most farm workers and prevent the establishment of freely chosen representative unions. It would leave growers practically immune to more economic pressure. It would make it virtually impossible for workers to negotiate basic working conditions.

The 7,000-word initiative is opposed by the Council of Churches of Northern and Southern California, the Southern California Board of Rabbis and the Roman Catholic Bishops of California. Moving into a void left by state and federal law, the bishops have for several years mediated between grower and worker. The bishops have said the initiative violates the "bedrock social doctrine" of their church.

It can fairly be said that Proposition 22 violates also the bedrock social doctrine of American labor law, which tries to reach an equitable balance between employer and employe in consonance with the good of the nation. Proposition 22 would not solve present difficulties but create new ones. It is not a step forward but a step backward. We urge a No vote on Proposition 22.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INTERFAITH COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE FOR FARM WORKERS

Reverend John C. Moyer
Reverend Lewis E. Durham
Reverend William H. Stegall
Ms. Doris McCullough
Ma. Gloria A. Carrillo
Reverend William A. Noel
Ms. Anne Draper
Reverend & Mrs. Robert M. Herhold
Mr. William O. Smith
Father Pablo García, O.P.
Reverend Donald E. Broderson
Mr. Richard García
Mr. E.L. Wuelfing
Reverend Thomas W. Deveraux
Father Peter J. Sammon
Reverend Travis L. Campbell
Msgr. John Tracy Ellis
Reverend Marion W. Lemon
Reverend Frank Plaisted
Reverend David Schilling
Msgr. Francis A. Quinn
Rabbi Sanford E. Rosen
Reverend Harry Scholefield
Ms. Rita Semel
Ms. Eldred Segal
Ms. Alan S. Wong
Father Oliver Lynch, O.F.M.
Reverend Michael J. Burns
Father John C. Petroni
Father Daniel Derry
Father James MacDonald
Father James S. Brusher, S.J.
Dr. Jerome A. Lackner
Reverend R. Richard Roe
Mr. & Mrs. Keith Taeger
Ms. Mary M. Freedlund
Father William O'Donnell
Father Eugene J. Boyle
Father Frank Buismato, O.F.M.
Mr. Jack Ahern
Riverend Paul Berry
Father James Casey
Msgr. James Flynn
Rabbi Jack Frankel
Reverend R. Richard Roe
Reverend Aron Gilmartin
Reverend Robert Hawthorne
Rabbi Roger Herst
Reverend Andrew Juvinal
Ms. Elizabeth Kratz
Father Donald Mackinnon
Reverend Howard Matson
Father Max Oliva, S.J.
Reverend Walter Press

Proposition 22 | NO | X

California Citizens' "NO on Proposition 22" Committee • 1411 W. Olympic Blvd., Rm. 51D • Los Angeles, California 90015

It took us longer than we thought to have the papers printed -- almost two full days -- and it wasn't until 2:00 p.m. that I got away from Fresno. I still have 40,000 copies to deliver tomorrow to Santa Ana, San Bernadino, and San Diego.

I've enjoyed dashing around on this, and I'm glad I got a chance to come down to Los Angeles -- especially to talk to the people involved here and pick up some new buttons and bumper stickers.

Cesar had discontinued the distribution of the button "No on Nixon, No on 22" on the grounds that we're looking for Republican votes against the initiative and we don't want to alienate them. He also pulled out the "Nixon Eats Lettuce" button, which may go back into distribution after the election.

Tomorrow before I leave, I'm going to try to look up one of my uncles -- Andy Bolak, my mother's brother. I visited him here in 1962, and he's always been our favorite uncle, but I've only seen him once since then. I have his address in Whittier, but I think his phone is unlisted, but I'll try anyway.

October 21, 1972 -- I'm writing this on the bus from San Diego to Los Angeles. Everything went off without a hitch and I delivered the 40,000 newspapers to Santa Ana, San Bernadino, and San Diego today. It was good to talk with everyone. Several were La Paz people who've been on the 22 campaign for the past several weeks. They all really liked the special issue of El Malcriado and wanted to know news from everywhere else. So I told them all about who's still left at La Paz, and Buttes & White River, and the Freshpict negotiations.

As for Proposition 22, everyone is saying the same thing -- no tangible polls, but very good response (5 or 6 to 1) from those who know about it, but many (not most) still don't know about the initiative. So it looks pretty good for us. Spirit is very high, with many volunteers helping, in addition to the several hundred full-time staff

people on it all over the state.

They're all concentrating on leafleting shopping centers and places with mass amounts of people, along with door-to-door calls, and talks to union, church, and other groups, as well as radio talk shows. The only thing the Farm Bureau has done so far is flood the landscape with those billboards -- they're saving their radio and TV blitz for the last week or ten days of the campaign.

On the way down to San Diego, I stopped at my uncle Andy Bolak's house in Whittier just for a few minutes. He and his wife Georgia said they'd be glad to pick me up at the LA bus station tonight to spend Sunday with them and then back to La Paz. So that will be good.

October 22, 1972 -- I'm back at La Paz after a good day with my uncle and aunt. They picked me up at the bus station in Los Angeles and I spend the night at their house in Whittier. They brought me back to La Paz (a two-hour drive) this evening.

Andy and I talked almost all night long last night and all day today. His political views are much like Archie Bunker's, but I really like him. We talked all about the union (which he thinks is good) and 22 (which he'll vote against), along with welfare, Nixon, and all kinds of things.

He also told me that my cousin Earl Bojanowski (who's about 30 or 31 -- a year or two younger than me -- and whom I've seen only once or twice; he's from Detroit -- his mother Clara is my mother's sister) was a Michigan delegate for George Wallace at the National Democratic Convention in Miami this past summer. What an odd situation. We seem to be at opposite ends of the political spectrum.

October 23, 1972 -- Today I just caught up on the mail and did some files and letters to John Bank and also Bob and Generose Brady.

Also, I talked with Andy Anzaldua, Cesar's assistant (who runs La Paz when he's gone), and since I'm wasting time here he agreed to my going out on the 22 campaign, which will be good. Even more people are leaving now, so there will be only about six or seven people left: the telephone operator, a few in the business and accounting office, and a few in maintenance. Things look pretty good for us now, but the Farm Bureau media blitz is about to start. I'll be in Fresno (with time to pick up Marshall Barry from Florida, who's giving a paper at a conference in Los Angeles on November 2). I'm really glad there is such a variety of things to do.

October 24, 1972 -- This morning I drove up to Fresno to work on the Proposition 22 campaign for the next two weeks. We spent the afternoon getting flyers ready and then leafleted two shifts at a Guild winery, as well as a reception for Henry Ramirez, Nixon's "coordinator for Mexican-Americans." There are six or seven people working full-time on the campaign here, plus several farm workers and others who are helping part-time.

Last weekend the group distributed 25,000 leaflets about a visit by George McGovern here Thursday. (Today is Tuesday). But he cancelled out last night. What we hear is that his people were afraid it would turn into a "No on 22" farm worker rally rather than a McGovern rally. So everyone is disappointed.

We got the results of a KFIG Fresno radio poll today. There were 340 in the survey: the 18-24 year old group was 5 to 2 against 22, and the over-24 group was 2 to 1 against. That's good, but the Farm Bureau's major media effort is about to start (on the 28th or so).

I'm staying with Nick and Jean Rizza, the young couple (both mid-20s) who run the union's Fresno field office. They're both very sharp.

So I'm glad I'm out on this.

October 25, 1972 -- We're doing all kinds of things here. Today we did more stuffing of out literature into McGovern envelopes. The McG staff have really been good to us on things like this, and also giving us paper and letting us run things off at their office.

Two more people came up from La Paz today, bring our group to nine full-time, plus a couple of dozen workers, students, and other part-time helpers.

After we got our leaflets ready and arranged for printing 100,000 more copies of the special El Malcriado issue on 22, and got another van for a trip to LA, we hit three factories at the afternoon shift change. Then I went with Virginia Jones, who generally works in the Boycott Central Office at La Paz, and we leafleted a Country Boy store and parking lot for two hours -- very good reception. After that, we went around to ten bars and liquor stores and burger places to ask if we could put up a special poster against Proposition 22. It's a silk screen printed on the backs of old IBM sheets to save paper and really looks good. We got only one refusal. Tomorrow we'll put up more.

So we had a good day today -- busy till 9:30 p.m.

I'm really glad to be out on this, The big media blitz will start soon. Cesar has decided that we will have to go into debt to match the growers' TV and radio spending -- maybe $500,000 or $600,000 or more. They're getting ready to hit us and we'll have to respond in spite of the expense, since that's a decisive factor in making up people's minds in the last week of the campaign.

October 26, 1972 -- Today we did more rushing around -- getting leaflets printed, putting some on the bus for Livingston and Stockton, checking out radio ad rates, plus more leafleting.

We had a meeting of the group this morning to try to bring more organization

into our random approach. We got some things straight on who would be doing what.

The McGovern people here have been very cooperative. We've inserted out stuff into their handouts and today they ran off 4,000 flyers for us on paper they gave us.

We've raised about $600-$700 in the past couple of weeks here and we're putting it all into radio spots on five stations -- LA sent us ten 30-second tapes made by Ted Kennedy, Alan Cranston, John Tunney, and Burt Lancaster gainst 22. That's what we'll run.

We leafleted several plants and the welfare department at the 4:00 and 5:00 p.m. shift changes, and more stores tonight.

Afterwards, three of us saw the play "The Catonsville Nine" at Fresno State University -- on Daniel and Philip Berrigan and their civil disobedience in pouring home-made napalm on draft files to protest the war. It was good.

October 27, 1972 -- More leafleting today. We all went down to the Mall in the center of Fresno to hit the noon lunch crowd. The Anglo women and businessmen were pretty cold, but the blacks and chicanos and young people were OK. Then we went to more supermarkets and K-marts, and also did some parked-car leafletting at the welfare and other state offices. Most people are very friendly, and the reactions we get are good ones.

Cesar is coming to Fresno on Thursday November 2. Unfortunately for me, it's the day I have to go to Los Angeles to pick up Marshall Barry, who's coming in from Florida. I agreed to it before I got into the 22 campaign. I wish I had told him to rent a car -- there's too much to do. We'll be setting up a rally for Cesar at Fresno State College, individual radio and TV sessions, and a special meeting with local supporters from the McGovern campaign, the NAACP, MECHA, LULAC, and similar groups.

Next week Sargent Shriver will be in Fresno, along with Jane Fonda (also on the

2nd, when I'll be in LA). In addition, Mrs. Romana Banuelos, Nixon's Treasurer, who has been an employer of illegal aliens and has been raided by the Border Patrol -- we're really anxious to picket her.

October 28, 1972 -- Today several of us leafleted a flea market auction and passed out 2,000-3,000 flyers in just two hours. Then K-marts and shopping centers in the afternoon. Good response from people.

I heard one of our ads on KCBS radio from San Francisco today -- just 30 seconds, but good -- stressing fraud and trickery and misleading promotion on 22.

Tonight we watched Archie Bunker and the movie "It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World."

I'm still staying with Nick and Jean Rizza, who run the Fresno field office. They are terrific people.

October 29, 1972 -- We had a tremendous day today.

About 15-20 farm workers and volunteers helped us distribute handouts in various areas.

The first thing we did was leaflet as many churches as we could -- about 15 of them, and all the Masses at the Catholic ones.

I leafleted the 9:30 Mass with Virginia Jones. She's been with the central boycott office for four years or so and is very good. She and her husband Nick, who is head of Cesar's security, were in the Chicago boycott for a while and knew Chris Byrne there -- a Saint Leo graduate.

After the Mass, we went inside, and an Anglo guy offered to help, so we gave him some materials and he took the next two Masses, as we went on to other places. There was also a grower there with "Yes on 22" bumper stickers all over her car.

So then we went to a couple of black churches on the west side of Fresno and

had good response. Then on to another Catholic church in a chicano area, where about 25 people let us put bumper stickers on their cars. Then we drove all around the black and chicano areas and asked store owners to put "No on 22" posters in their windows, and about 25 said OK. Then we hit a large Mexican theatre as people were getting out, and caught them in the parking lots and put on 40-50 bumper stickers. The response was great, and we felt as if we were really accomplishing something to get so many bumper stickers actually on cars.

Then we all just quit about 4:30 or 5:00 p.m., and Nick & Jean Rizza and I played cards and watched TV for a break. We also saw one of the growers' "Yes on 22" television ads -- a 30-second spot with a man in a field who looked like a farm worker, saying he needed the freedom to work where he wanted, "So please vote yes on Proposition 22." What a distortion. (But clever.)

Tomorrow, our major activity is picketing Romana Banuelos, the Treasurer of the United States and a Nixon appointee (presumably to appeal to the so-called "Mexican-American vote," which is hardly a bloc).

We got the results of a state poll on 22 -- 5% yes, 8% no, 11% undecided, and 76% who don't know anything about it! So we still have a lot to do.

Things are really moving here. (And it was 27° last night.)

<u>October 30, 1972</u> -- Today we made picket signs all morning for our thing with Romana Banuelos this afternoon. The chicanos here, especially the women, have really strong feelings about her: "Hit the Road, Romana," "From Wetbacks to Greenbacks," "Vendida," "Republicans Hate Farm Workers," "No on 22," etc. All kinds of workers helped out.

Then we left the office at 2:30 p.m. to meet her Greyhound traveling bus at a shopping center in the northern part of the city. There were 50 of us, mostly farm

workers from the area. The reception committee consisted of only 30 Republicans, mostly elderly white women. They had their "Yes on 22" signs with them, too. It was a real shouting match when the bus pulled in and the officials came out -- "Go Home, Romana!" "No on 22!" "No on Nixon!" Banuelos didn't even get off the bus. A few people tried to address the crowd, but the clamor was pretty strong (but no violence). TV and newspaper people were all over, and police too, but the rally broke up and the bus pulled away. We saw the newscast on TV tonight. The shouting was pretty strong, and it may have cost us some votes. But we felt good and at least we showed that real farm workers do not support Proposition 22.

After that, we stopped off at "Yes on 22" headquarters in Fresno and picked up some of their handouts.

Then we got more posters put up in stores throughout the city and did a little leafleting.

October 31, 1972 -- Today Nick Rizza and I spoke to a class at Fresno State on the union and 22. Most were chicanos in Raza Studies -- very sympathetic and with it.

At noon, we went to a rally at the university where the main speaker was Sargent Shriver, George McGovern's vice presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket -- 3,000 people, really good spirit, and much mention of 22.

Then in the afternoon, Steve Jimenez and I drove down to Bakersfield (two hours) to vote absentee at the Kern County Court House. There was a $1.00 fee we didn't expect. I didn't like it, but I paid, and voted. He protested and refused, and didn't vote. (Stupid. We can check into it later. But we need every vote now.))

We also checked out the place where Cesar will be meeting Thursday with 100 or so people from organizations who have supported us here.

YOU CAN HELP FARMWORKERS & THEIR CHILDREN REGISTER TO VOTE NOW AND VOTE THIS NOVEMBER 7th.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE ANTI-FARM WORKER INITIATIVE, NOVEMBER 7TH.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE LAW HELPS ONLY RICH GROWERS NOT FARM WORKERS.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE LAW SETS UP ELECTIONS IN WHICH MOST FARM WORKERS CAN'T VOTE.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE LAW WILL COST $600,000 EACH YEAR IN TAX PAYERS' $$$

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE LAW WOULD TAKE RIGHTS AWAY FROM FARM WORKERS THAT ALL OTHER WORKERS HAVE.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE LAW SAYS YOU COULD SPEND A YEAR IN JAIL OR PAY A $5,000 FINE (OR BOTH) FOR SAYING: "BOYCOTT LETTUCE," EVEN TO A FRIEND IN THE PRIVACY OF YOUR OWN HOME.

VOTE NO ON 22 - THE ANTI-FARM WORKER INITIATIVE!

* *

VOTE YES FOR MC GOVERN
MC GOVERN WILL GIVE THE POOR A CHANCE.

VOTE YES FOR MC GOVERN
MC GOVERN WILL END THE VIETNAM WAR.

VOTE YES FOR MC GOVERN
MC GOVERN WILL BE HONEST.

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* *

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UNION LABEL

JUSTICE FOR FARMWORKERS

November 1972

November 1, 1972 -- I'm back at La Paz. I drove down tonight from Fresno to stay over and then on to LA for Barry tomorrow.

Today Nick Rizza and I spoke at a local high school in a debate with a guy from the Farm Bureau, and then hit a rally at Fresno City College, where we got a $30 donation.

November 2, 1972 -- Today I dashed down to the LA airport, picked up Marshall Barry from Florida, and then went over to the Beverly Hilton Hotel (of all places) for the conference of the Community College Social Science Association. He's giving a paper on "Project Real: Meaningful Academic Involvement in Social Change" -- on how his students at New College have helped the union -- and we're hoping to recruit some academic people from around the state who might be interested in helping the union here.

As it turned out, two college faculty members did express interest in volunteering their students for research help. We then took off for La Paz, where I left him to look over things for the next five days and I came on to Fresno.

Cesar's rally and TV meeting went very well yesterday. In addition, we got an injunction to halt three of the growers' television ads as misleading and deceptive. In Los Angeles, a grand jury indicted five people for fraud in circulating the petitions. And we heard the results of a KCBS radio station (San Francisco) poll that 38% of its survey was against 22, 21% in favor, and the rest no opinion. Things look pretty good.

November 3, 1972 -- Today we made signs and discussed election day strategy. We got a list of 50,000 Democrats and their phone numbers from the McGovern people, and over the week-end we've lined up 10-20 people to try to call as many of them on 22 as we can. We'll also try to leaflet as much as possible and put up signs in the

fields and on our cars at the polls. On election day, we're going to try to cover at least 30 precincts (especially in heavy black and chicano neighborhoods), hand out leaflets, and also try to get out the vote in our areas.

Yesterday, four more people were indicted in LA for fraud in the gathering of Proposition 22 petitions. The pro-22 TV ads which we got court injunctions against were particularly deceptive: showing workers urging "free elections" and giving the impression that 22 is pro-union. Also, there was much publicity today on our suit for $112 million against the growers' "Fair Labor Practices Committee" on 22.

The latest statewide poll shows 34% no on 22, 21% yes, and 55% undecided. So it looks pretty good for us.

November 4, 1972 -- Today we began the telephone campaign from the list of 50,000 Democrats we got from the McGovern people. Five of us from the office group were using phones at Fresno State College. Of the 118 I made, 28 were no on 22, 25 leaning to no, only six yes, and the rest undecided. That's essentially the way it went for all of us -- of 350 calls: 120 no, 25 yes, and the rest uncertain. So we all felt pretty good.

November 5, 1972 -- It's Sunday, and we're all very rushed. More calls and leafleting today.

November 6, 1972 -- Still rushed. It's the Monday before Election Day. More of the same in a flurry of activity.

November 7, 1972 -- Election Day. We spent all day at the polls, handing out flyers for "No on 22." Lots of police harrassment on staying 100 feet away for the polling stations.

November 8, 1972 -- We learned by noon that Proposition 22 was defeated statewide 42% yes and 58% no. It lost by 1 1/4 million votes. So the we're still alive as

a union. It was a tremendous victory.

We lost in Fresno, however (it's a major agricultural area), with a vote of 88,000 yes to 51,000 no, so far.

The huge vote we picked up in the cities (especially Los Angeles and San Francisco) helped carry the overall vote for us.

What is remarkable is that this victory for us came while Nixon was winning the state against McGovern in the presidential election by a huge majority. That means we picked up a lot of Republican and pro-Nixon Democratic votes. I'm disappointed in McGovern's loss, but he was worth fighting for, and I think he still will have influence.

November 9, 1972 -- I dropped Marshall Barry off at the airport today. It was good to see him go -- he can be very overbearing and patronizing in his manner. He and I met with Cesar last night on the research department.

Tomorrow Freshpict is coming to La Paz to have another negotiating session -- this time with Cesar. There was a session Wednesday in Calexico, but things are at an impasse. The company is still beating around the bush.

The final vote on 22 was 58% to 42% for us: 3,316,772 yes to 4,554,380 no. We even beat Nixon statewide. His vote was also 58% to 42% against McGovern. He got 4,546,396 million votes -- so we got 8,000 more votes than he did.

November 10, 1972 -- Today three company officials from Freshpict flew up here from Calexico, and 15-20 workers drove up for a negotiating session, with Cesar directing things for the union side. The comopany was going to show us documents on all its sales and other transactions (getting out of lettuce, celery, and asparagus) to give us some proof of what they're doing. But the company representatives refused to show the documents in front of the workers. So Cesar suggested that David and Jerry Cohen and I meet with their three to go over them, and then meet with him and the

workers afterward. But they just wanted a private meeting with David and Cesar, so they refused and then just left.

So Cesar had a meeting and explained it all to the Ranch Committee members and then drafted a telegram to the President of Purex Corporation, saying that we were going to strike and boycott them unless they disclosed all their deals immediately and moved to negotiate seriously. So we'll soon be on the Purex boycott. But they deserve it, since they've been pulling so many maneuvers to get rid of us.

We're also going back full steam on the lettuce boycott. A big three-day meeting starts here this Monday (today is Friday) for 200 or so staff people.

Tonight David invited me to dinner at his house in Bakersfield. Then we played pool downtown, and he blasted me 6 games to one. Afterward we had a couple of games of chess with the set I got in Mexicali. I'm teaching him to play.

November 11, 1972 -- Tonight we had our celebration for the Proposition 22 campaign. Most of the La Paz people have come back from all over the state, and others came up here for the party.

Cesar was serving Gallo wine as bartender -- it's one of our companies -- and I took away one of the empties as a souvenir. He was in a great mood and danced around, especially to the Benny Goodman-type records from the 1940s on the record player.

Tomorrow, people will be coming in from all over for a three-day conference recapping 22 and making plans to go all out on the lettuce boycott.

I'm in the middle of pulling together all the stuff we have on Freshpict and its maneuvers.

November 12, 1972 -- Today I cleaned up my room and all the clippings and piles of material which has accumulated since August.

November 13, 1972 -- Today we had a tremendous meeting -- the start of a three-day staff conference, wrapping up Proposition 22 and getting into the nationwide lettuce boycott.

We heard reports from the 12-15 areas around California in which we had operations on 22. Those people really worked -- concentrating on voter registration in August and September, then doing door-to-door canvassing on 22 in September and October, as well as mass leafleting at shopping centers, and telephoning. One unusual tactic, used in Los Angeles, was "human billboarding." Unlike New York City, where there are always huge crowds of people on the sidewalks (and susceptible to leaflets), everyone in LA is rushing around in a car. How can you get your message to them? "Human billboarding" was one of the techniques: our people with giant-size signs (far larger than normal picket signs) standing along freeway ramps, on traffic islands, and busy corners two or three or four in a row -- pumping the signs up and down all day long and really attracring attention.

Fresno County was the only area we lost where we had a fairly large group operating, though we did lose nearly the whole San Joaquin Valley, including Delano, where the union started in 1962. Steve Jimenez, who was loosely in charge of our part of the campaign, gave a real bullshit report on how he expected us to lose 6-1 and we only went down by 17,000 votes: 88,000 to 61,000. I think we could have made it if we had worked harder.

It was good to see Nick and Jeanie Rizza and Lupe Ortiz again. We really had a good time together.

November 14, 1972 -- Today we had the second session of our 300-person 22-lettuce conference. Really good spirit and interesting stuff, but a stiff schedule -- starting at 8:00 a.m. and going till 10:00 p.m., with breaks only for lunch and dinner.

This morning we reviewed the situation at White River Farms. Several members of the Ranch Committee discussed how things were before the union contract at Schenley in 1966, then the negotiations and current issues. After that, Richard Chavez and Dolores Huerta discussed the strike and how it had gone, and Jerry Cohen brought everyone up to date on legal aspects -- our lawsuits, the arrests (more than 200 strikers). Then Cesar asked me to report on Buttes Gas and Oil and its operations. But we had been going for several hours, so I said, "Why don't we take a break first?" The group cheered. I spoke for about a half-hour, putting up on the board the chart I had constructed and talking about all the connections and the Guild Wine boycott. Several people came up to me afterward and said they thought it was very clearly explained (and even -- "what a good voice you have"). It was the first time I had spoken to the whole staff.

In the afternoon, we got into lettuce, and Marshall Ganz reviewed the past history from 1970 through the moratorium to the re-announcement of the boycott last May 3 up to now. Cesar also talked about our current verbal war with the Teamsters -- lots of press statements back and forth -- but he thinks it would cost them too much money to take us on, and that all of this is only a show to impress the 200 growers they've sweethearted with.

Then Marshall reviewed what's happening in the New York boycott, where he's been for the past two months. Fantastic activities: people carrying huge signs at Penn Station and other places; educating groups of people on lettuce as they waited for traffic lights, and then repeating again as a new crowd arrived to wait for the light; staffing tables outside Macy's to get people to sign pledges not to buy non-union lettuce; even addressing whole subway cars of people as they rode along -- really gutsy stuff -- and getting 57,000 pledge cards signed in five weeks, recruiting 3,200

volunteer helpers, and picking up $7,500 in street donations. Really amazing. All of this stirred everyone up for the boycott pitch, which will come tomorrow, when most of the people here will be sent out on the boycott around the country.

I called Barbara Berger at Saint Leo tonight. She needed some advice on promotion rights and procedures. We talked for 45 minutes. She's really getting put down by the divisional chairman. I hope she can win it -- she doesn't have many allies.

November 15, 1972 -- Today we finished the main conference at noon, with Cesar giving a strong pitch for the need for boycotters -- to focus on California, the Northeast, and then if we have enough, the key cities in the Midwest. Everyone was enthusiastic and most volunteered for the boycott and will soon be sent out. There was such a good spirit that the group started making up gag lyrics to one of the standard labor movement songs: "We Shall Not Be Moved." One of the new lines was: "We are being transferred. . . . We shall not be moved!"

In the afternoon, we had a three-hour meeting with the 70-90 White River strikers here, and 38 of them volunteered for the boycott -- most to be sent to Wisconsin, a big market for Guild's brandy (as I discovered in talking with company marketing people several weeks ago).

I gave another presentation on Buttes and White River and Guild, with the chart, maps, and much detail. Cesar translated into Spanish -- all of our meetings are in both languages, so they last 1 1/2 to two times as long. It was well received. One of the workers came up later and shook my hand, and all kinds of people made comments. I'm getting to be a real celebrity.

Also, Peggy Fleming -- who worked with us (John Bank and me) in the Cincinnati boycott in 1970 and for a year in the Denver boycott -- came in this afternoon to spend her vacation traveling around here. She's now a juvenile counselor.

She's never been to La Paz or seen Cesar, so it's like Mecca for her. She's a really fine person.

November 16, 1972 -- Today I put together a four-page summary on Guild for the boycott. It'll be translated into Spanish for the White River people, 38 of whom have volunteered to go out on the boucott.

Then I got together some research material to take to Ohlone College near San Jose and San Francisco, where some people have volunteered to do agricutural research for us. I met one of the faculty members in Los Angeles when Marshall Barry was here, and he called me yesterday. So we have a Friday meeting. (Today is Thursday.)

I asked Peggy Fleming to come along. So we're going up to Fresno to stay with the Rizzas and get a 2 1/2-hour jump on the trip.

November 17, 1972 -- Today we took off for Fremont (near San Francisco) after staying over with Nick and Jean Rizza in Fresno. They're really terrific people and I'm glad I got to know them.

At Ohlone College, I spoke with a dozen students and three faculty members at a meeting of La Raza Nueva, a campus organization. I showed how research fit into the whole pattern of organizing, boycott, and negotiations; and then I explained the kinds of things we do, especially on Buttes and White River. The kids were kind of tepid, but the three faculty people were genuinely interested and told me they'd give kids credit in their courses for working on research projects for us. So I'm going to to work out a more detailed plan and go back up in January when the winter-spring quarter starts.

It was a good trip, and on the way back to La Paz, we drove along the Pacific Ocean beach by Carmel -- the famous "17-mile Drive" toward Monterey, with wind-swept cypress trees, seals, and rocks, and great views.

We've driven 800 miles since we left here last night, and I'm really beat. Tomorrow I have to do a report on Buttes for the next issue of El Malcriado.

November 18, 1972 -- Today I worked on the Buttes report for the union newspaper. In addition, David and I had a meeting with Dolores this morning. She is now Cesar's Administrative Assistant, replacing Andy Anzaldua, who is going to Texas. She should do pretty well in this position, I think, because she really does know a lot and should be able to push a little more strongly than Andy did, who was very loose. (1994 note: This turned out to be too optimistic a prediction. Dolores Huerta is a "warrior," whose strength is on the front lines, not in administration or management.)

In spite of our problems in Salinas, she's always been friendly and pleasant to me in the few times I've seen her since then. She's hard to work with, but afterwards she seems OK. Cesar still doesn't like some of the things she's done, but his feeling is that if you can be effective in a position, then OK. She is devoted to him.

There is a big reshuffling among the other people also, with many from La Paz going out on the lettuce boycott.

November 19, 1972 -- Peggy Fleming left this morning (Sunday) for more travels. She was here for four days and helped with the agricultural clippings and worked a little in the accounting office, so she had a good time. She's 30 and was in the convent till June of 1970. She was a great participant in the Cincinnati boycott with us in 1970. We drove around a lot here and went to the movies ("2001 -- A Space Odyssey").

We had a meeting this afternoon with 29 Paul Masson wine grape workers, who drove down here with their paychecks and picking records because they believe they're being cheated by the company. We checked a few things, which were OK, but their records were incomplete, so we set up a later meeting.

Tonight five of us played poker. I came out as the big winner, with $3.60.

Tonight I started reading Norman Mailer's St. George and the Godfather on the conventions. It's good. He can really put the words together.

November 20, 1972 -- A lot of things are happening around here -- negotiations with Freshpict and D'Arrigo Brothers in lettuce, Dave Walsh in strawberries, and Cochise Farms in Arizona peaches; a staff reshuffling, with people going out across the country on the lettuce boycott; and the White River strikers getting ready to go out after Guild.

Today I drafted a memo for Dolores on Guild Wineries & Distilleries, recommending where to send the 25-30 White River people who'll be doing that boycott. Our other cities will be concentrating on lettuce, with no major announcement yet of the Guild boycott, so as not to confuse people in general.

Then tonight I did a five-page report for David on Freshpict's recent actions. He and Cesar and Jerry Cohen are meeting with the Freshpict people tomorrow in LA to see their documents on exactly what they're selling and what other deals they've made. Our telegrams to them threatening a boycott, after they walked out of the La Paz meeting a week and a half ago, were effective. They've decided to reveal their plans. Cesar checked with all the field offices and Freshpict Ranch Committees to OK his seeing the company without the workers present. This is a point of principle with the union.

Also tonight I made a major button deal with Andy Anzaldua. I picked up seven valuable oldies that he didn't have duplicates of, but I had to give up 17, plus the hat I got in Mexicali and the promise of a special McGovern button if I got another one. I now have 94 UFW buttons, going back to NFWA in 1962.

November 21, 1972 -- Today we got a package of material together for the White River strikers, who've been here for the past couple of days, working and

planning for their trip out on the boycott.

Then late tonight, Marshall Ganz (national boycott director) and Hub Segur (boycott research) and I had a meeting to discuss all we knew about Guild, how we could find out more, and what cities to send the 37 White River strikers to.

The boycott cities are going to do another survey to update the 1971 store check of where Guild's products are; we're going to feel out our contacts at Heublein, Gallo, and other union growers to see if they'll give us market info on Guild; and we're going to have someone interview Guild again in San Francisco to focus on marketing. From this we'll know where the White River strikers should go -- probably several to Wisconsin (a big state for brandy) and New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and maybe Cleveland. The ones staying here can go into LA and SF on weekends for the boycott.

While we were discussing all this, Cesar came by the office after being in Los Angeles all day with Freshpict (which didn't go too well). He said his recent trip to Florida was very good and that Robbie Jaffe, whom we worked with in the Tampa lettuce boycott, "is doing a terrific job in Miami -- they all know about the boycott there." He mentioned a rally in Belle Glade, where he saw three black guys in a sound truck with signs reading: "Farmworkers Si, Union No" and "Send Chavez Back to Mexico." He said he mentioned at the rally that he couldn't understand why he should go back to Mexico since he'd been born in Arizona (in 1927) and since there were no workers to organize there, but that if they wanted him to go to Mexico for a vacation, well that would be OK.

November 22, 1972 -- More work on miscellaneous items today. We had a community meeting in the evening. Announcements were made of about 15-20 La Paz staff who are transferring to cities around the country for the lettuce boycott.

OIL IN THE WINE

There's oil in the wine at White River Farms. The parent company of White River Farms, where our strikers have ben struggling since August 28, is Buttes Gas & Oil Company. As the cartoon illustrates, this land-grabbing conglomerate has built a sprawling empire ranging from Abu Musa in the Arabian Gulf to Poplar and Delano on the White River.

Gas, oil, and minerals used to be its principal business. Buttes controls 34,000,000 gross acres with 628 oil wells and 111 gas wells throughout the United States and Canada, plus oil concessions in Tunisia, Ghana, Liberia, Malagasy, Indonesia, and Sharjah. Its operations embrace all of North America, especially Mexico, in searches for gold, uranium, nickel, platinum, gypsum, sulphur, and potash. Its partners in several joint ventures include Atlantic Richfield, Shell Oil, Kerr-McGee, and Ashland Oil.

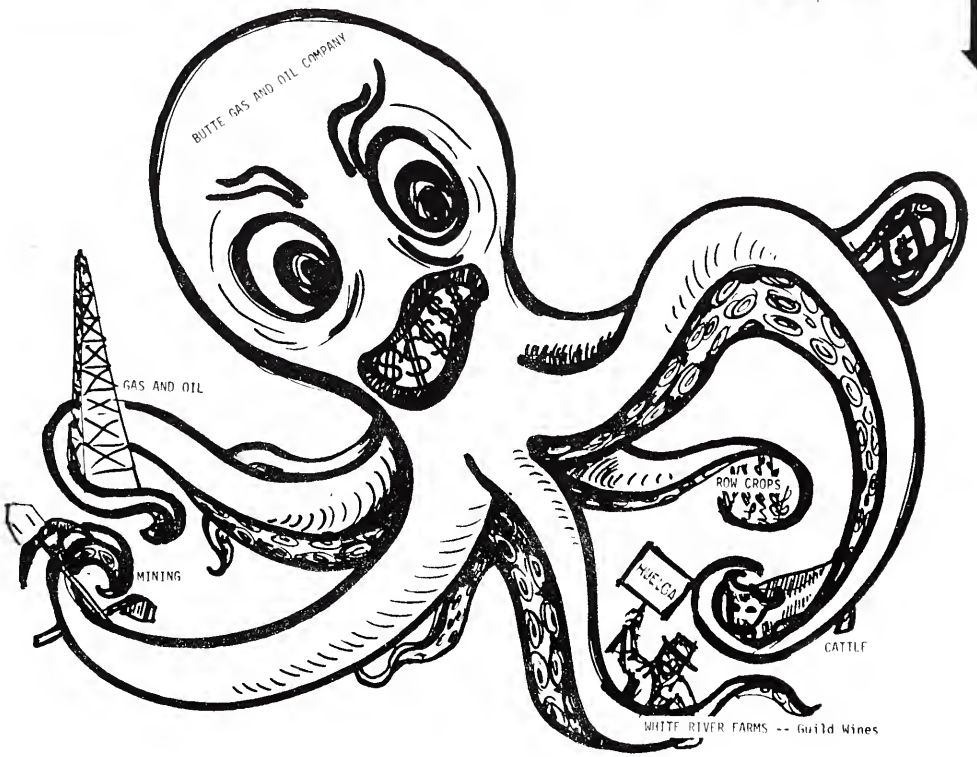
While holding on to its 18 oil, gas, and mining companies, the Buttes octopus has reached its tentacles out to grasp a cattle ranch in Texas and eight agricultural subsidiaries in California. It now owns more than 25,000 acres of land in the San Joaquin Valley in vineyards, citrus, nut trees, cotton, and tomatoes.

Buttes expansion into agriculture has all taken place since 1968 and more is planned for the future. The agricultural coordinating arm of the corporation is Buttes Farmland Development Company.

White River Farms is by far the most valuable of all the holdings of Buttes Gas & Oil, representing nearly 30% of the income of the company last year. It is the center of our struggle.

Buttes purchased this 5,000-acre wine grape ranch when Schenley sold out in February of 1971. Schenley had been the very first company to recognize our union in April of 1966. Its 300 workers enjoyed the dignity of a union contract for six years until Buttes refused to re-negotiate in an attempt to break our union.

Guild Wineries and Distilleries is a cooperative owned by 750-1,000 growers, of which White River Farms is the largest owner-member, representing 14% to 20% of Guild's total production. Guild owns eight wineries, (three purchased from Schenley, as well as Schenleys labels) , and is the third largest wine company in the United States (after Gallo and Heublein's United Vintners).



Buttes Gas & Oil is a little oil company getting fat off foodstuffs. Its empire is far-reaching and its influence substantial. But it lacks the strength of the people. That is why we will win.

By Jim Horgan, Union Research Dept.

November 23, 1972 -- We had a good Thanksgiving dinner here at La Paz today: turkey, mashed potatoes, pies, Gallo wine, and a pinata afterwards. We broke off work at noon, and we also had some readings and Thanksgiving statements with all of us -- 60 or 70 -- sitting around before dinner.

Tonight a bunch of us went to the movies in Tehachapi nearby for two Clint Eastwoods: "Hang 'Em High" and "A Few Dollars More."

November 24, 1972 -- I had a article on Buttes Gas & Oil in the current issue of El Malcriado. Most of the day I spent organizing the library and files, as well as reading some of the wine magazines for more information on Guild.

In addition, we had a brief community meeting to meet Ray Gonzales, newly elected assemblyman from our district and the first chicano ever elected from the San Joaquin Valley. Cesar introduced him to the La Paz staff. He seemed very good and said he was a strong supporter of the union -- he's about 30 and a college teacher with a Ph. D. in Raza Studies. But when people started questioning him, he really waffled about not making a formal endorsement of the lettuce boycott, though he supports it and also came out for no on 22. He said an endorsement might damage his election chances, and he wanted to be more effective for us. Good in some respects, but not very convincing there. He also seemed a little out of touch. He told Cesar in front of the group that he had put in for a seat on the Agriculture Committee and hoped to help us. Cesar told him that it's the Labor Committee that has jurisdiction over things pertaining to us, not Agriculture. Maybe he'll develop.

November 25, 1972 -- Today I had a chance to talk with Cesar about the research department. Since it looks like we'll be able to get some college groups to help us, I asked him what areas they should concentrate on. He outlined some general things -- data on growers and costs for next spring's contract renewals for the table

Compañía Butte Gas & Oil: Un Pulpo de $14,000,000

La compañía propietaria de la White River Farms, la compañía Buttes Gas and Oil, extiende los tentáculos de su imperio desde el golfo de Arabia hasta las viñas de Delano y White River. La Buttes controla 34,000,000 millones de acres. 628 pozos de petróleo y 111 de gas en los Estado Unidos y Canadá. Concesiones petrolíferas en Túnez, Ghana, Liberia, Indonesia, y minas de oro, uranio, niquel y platino en Canadá, Estados Unidos y Mexico.

Aunque en gas y aceite no se puede comparar a los gigantes como la Standard Oil o Pual Getty, en la industria agrícola es una de las poderosas. Sus tentáculos absorben un rancho de ganado en Texas y subsidiarias en California. En el valle de San Joaquín tiene más de 25,000 acres, viñas, cítricos, nueces, algodón y tomate.

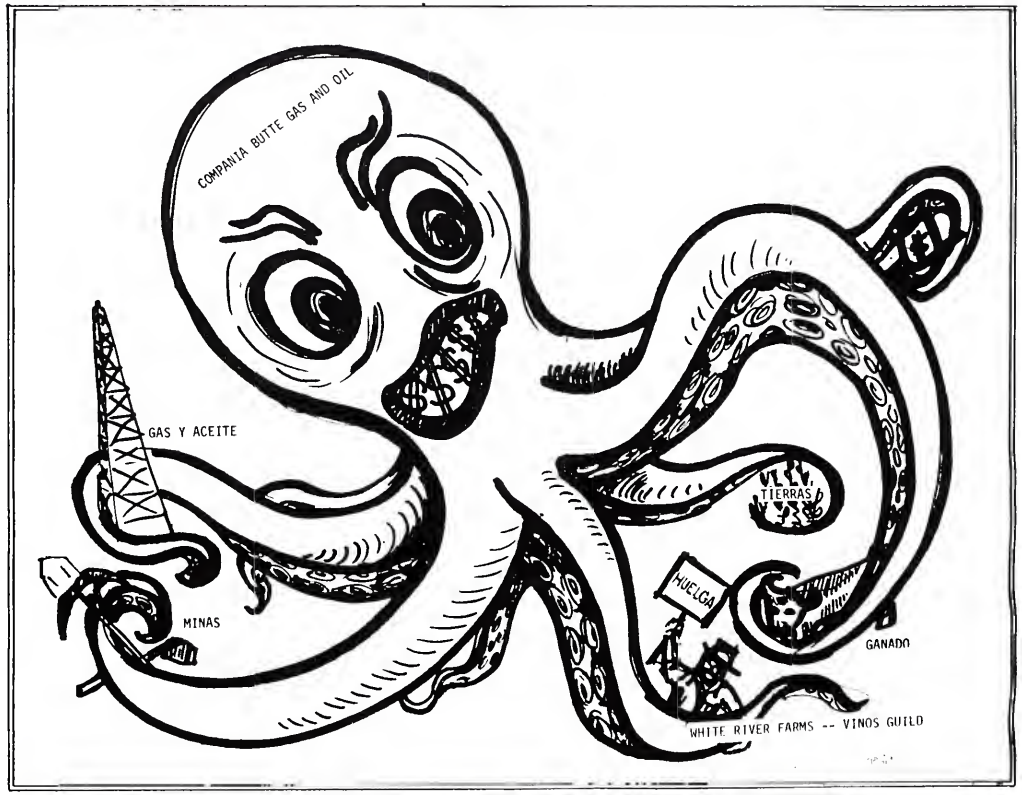
Tres de sus subsidarias, la Jasmin Groves Company, la Treecrop Company y la 1971 Treecrop Company, controlan 11,000 acres en Kern y Tulare.

De todos sus terrenos White River Farms es el que más dinero da. El año pasado, 30% de la renta de la Buttes Gas & Oil vino de aquí.

En febrero de 1971 , compró a la Schenley su rancho de 5,000 acres de uva de vino. Schenley fué la primera compaía que firmó contrato de Unión. La Buttes, engreída con el poder de su imperio y confiada en la Proposición 22 rehusó renegociar el contrato. Los trabajadores hicieron una huelga que hizo perder a la compañía más de un millón. Esta pudo terminar la cosecha gracias a que se unieron en contra de sus 300 trabajadores todos los rancheros contratistas y esquiroles y porque metieron sus mendigas máquinas. Y porque la policía y las cortes pusieron la ley y la justicia al servicio del pulpo.

El pulpo de la Buttes Oil absorbe aceite, minerales y ahora quiere la tierra y la sangre de los campesinos. La voluntad y el espiritu de lucha y solidaridad del trabajador campesino no se lo va a dejar.

(Informacion: Jim Horgan, Dept. de Búsqueda)



grape growers, farm worker location studies, area crop studies, and various emergency things that might come up. Beyond that, he was pretty much leaving it to me to give them specific things to do. He didn't have much confidence that we'd get many good researchers out of the group. (1994 note: He was right.)

I got a letter from Marshall Barry the other day. He said he was sending out two of his students to "take over the research department." Even from afar he's still arrogant and insufferable.

Tonight David Burciaga invited me over for supper again and afterwards we played pool at a Mexican place downtown in Bakersfield. (I beat him in 3 of 5 games -- he's slipping.) Then we went over to a victory party for Ray Gonzales, the assemblyman who wishy-washied us at La Paz yesterday. But I did get the names of six of his supporters at Bakersfield College and Cal State-Bakersfield who might help us with research.

November 26, 1972 -- We had a community Mass this afternoon for the 40 of us here -- a lot of people take off on Sundays -- and it was good spirit.

Tonight we played some poker (I won $2.50) and then bridge afterwards. I even picked up another UFW button -- 95 now. I gave Andy Andaldua the large McGovern button (showing James Taylor and Carol King) yesterday, and he was very pleased.

I got a letter from Fr. Bob Fucheck, the pastor at St. Anthony's Church in San Antonio, the other day. He was very active in the McGovern campaign and on the night of election day, some local people put a mock grave on the lawn of his rectory: "Here Lies George McGovern. R. I. P." His letter was very strong and serious. He didn't say so, but from his tone he seems to want to stay around San Ann, since he discovered many "good guys" during the campaign. I hope so. He's a really good person and it would be a shame for frustration to chase him off. (1994 note: He liked parish work so

much that when he couldn't get a parish assignment with Saint Leo Abbey, he left the Benedictines and became a diocesan priest and is now pastor of our Lady of Lourdes Church in Melbourne, Florida.)

I got photos back today from the past few weeks. In particular, I had taken some shots of the pro-22 billboards from around the state, reading: "For Farm Workers' Rights . . . Yes on Prop. 22." Some of the union people (especially Ben Maddock of the Delano field office) had spray-painted out the second "2" on several of them, so they read "Yes on Prop. 2."

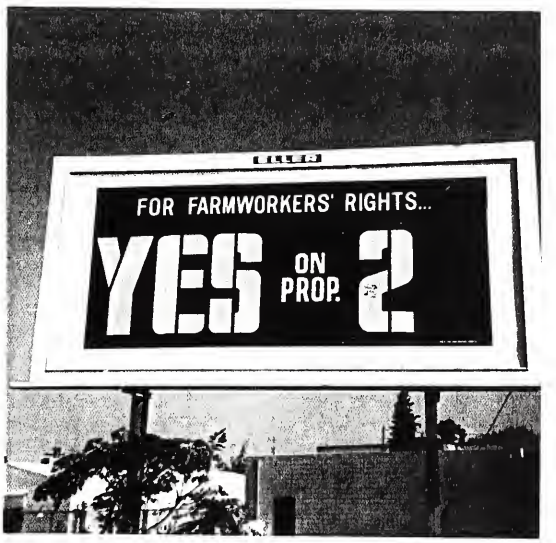
The photos of the Romana Banuelos rally we picketed reminded me that one of her supporters had been wearing a button saying: "Boycott Grass Not Lettuce." That would have been a nice one to get, but the circumstances didn't facilitate a trade.

November 27, 1972 -- This morning the White River strikers' caravan stopped by La Paz on its way to Wisconsin -- 47 people altogether, including 12 kids -- the largest group we've ever sent off on the boycott. (They're going to Wisconsin because I discovered that it's one of the largest markets for Guild's brandy.) We had a community get-together, with a couple of songs, and a blessing, and Cesar spoke.

Then I spent the day in the Visalia court house checking some things out. It's a couple of hours from here, but only 30 miles below Fresno, so I went up there to see Nick and Jean Rizza, who are leaving for the New York lettuce boycott this weekend. I also got four more buttons from one of the workers there -- now a total of 99.

November 28, 1972 -- I made reservations to travel to St. Louis over the holidays from December 22 to January 2 -- to see Susan Roche and visit our families. I still haven't asked anyone if it's OK, but I talked with Hub Segur of the boycott office today (who's going to Connecticut on the 23rd) and he said Cesar hasn't pushed any rule, but sometimes makes grumbling noises, but people sort of move out anyway.

FOR FARMWORKERS' RIGHTS...
YES ON PROP. 22


FOR FARMWORKERS' RIGHTS...
YES ON PROP. 2

Then I caught up on some letters.

Hub and I then went into Bakersfield to check the library on the Bing Crosby Pro-Am Golf Tournament, which Guild brandy has sponsored for the past two years. It's held in January, so maybe we'll have some action on it.

November 29, 1972 -- Today the people from the two medical clinics we have -- in Delano and Calexico -- came up for a conference to spend the day: about 40 people on the staff, plus a couple of nurses and doctors. We had a general community meeting in the morning, singing huelga songs, as we always do, and had a special dinner in the evening.

I spent most of the day organizing the files, which I am finally catching up on.

November 30, 1972 -- This afternoon I picked up Jim Drake at the Bakersfield Airport. He came in for just a couple of hours from Arizona to see Cesar. He had with him a man named Jerry Pollock, who will probably be our candidate for governor in the recall election, which we hope will come off in March. We've had a hard time finding someone (the last guy backed out), but this one seems OK. He's run for Congress twice (unsuccessfully). He was pretty quiet in the car.

I drove up to Salinas tonight and stayed over in a Motel 6 in order to do some court house work on Freshpict, with whom we're still negotiating. We've heard rumors about a company named Vegpak doing broccoli harvesting that Freshpict used to do. Maybe the two are connected and just trying to get around the union. So I want to check that out.

Before I left I picked up my 100th UFW button from Hub Segur -- one of the best yet: "Agnew Smokes Lettuce." Very rare.

December 1972

December 1, 1972 -- I spent part of the day in the Salinas court house, then with the County Agricultural Agent on strawberry costs and profits, and then to the Federal-State Market News Service for price reports. After that I interviewed the president of Vegpak (telling him I was a teacher looking into agricultural companies). We suspect he is a front for Freshpict, who's trying to get rid of our broccoli workers by dealing them off through Vegpak. I got a lot of material, but none of it conclusive. Then I made the 250-mile drive back to La Paz.

December 2, 1972 -- I wrote another article for El Malcriado today -- called "Wall Street Growers" on corporate tax-shelter investments in agricultural companies like Buttes Gas & Oil.

This morning we had a community meeting for Andy Andaldua, who is leaving the union to work in Texas. Tonight there was a party for Nick and Virginia Jones, who are transferring from La Paz to the Boston boycott. I got to know her pretty well on the 22 campaign in Fresno. She's very sharp and articulate, and a good organizer. She's been with the union four or five years and used to be Cesar's secretary. But Nick was doing the farewell speech-making, so several of the young women here began shouting: "Speech! Speech, Virginia! For the women!" So she said some things, too. Just before that, Cesar, who was pouring the wine (Gallo Hearty Burgundy -- our house drink), had made some crack to Richard Ybarra (the new head of security, replacing Nick) that his first child had better be a boy. So the women hissed and booed him. But Cesar was in good humor and knew what he'd get when he said it. The staff people, men and women alike, are very supportive of the women's movement.

December 3, 1972 -- Today (Sunday) I saw a couple of movies: Peter Sellers in "Where Does It Hurt?" and Richard Burton and Elizabeth Taylor in "Hammersmith Is

Out" (a real loser). I also finished reading Gay Talese's Honor Thy Father and Norman Mailer's St. George and the Godfather.

December 4, 1972 -- Today I finished up some memos and then started a report on new companies getting into wine: French's mustard, Pillsbury, Southern Pacific Railroad, Schlitz brewery. I also began a project to get the names of every growers' organization in California. We're going to send them all telegrams asking for recognition for their workers so we can undercut the Teamsters, who are now dashing all over the state looking for "sweetheart contracts." They'll refuse us, but it will help for later propaganda and maybe legal maneuvers as well.

December 5, 1972 -- It's 2:00 a.m. (the 6th) and I just got back from a quick trip to Salinas with David. We left at 3:00 p.m. this afternoon, spent three hours there, and left immediately to come back here -- an exhausting trip.

We went up for a meeting with the InterHarvest celery workers, who are still fighting over how to divide up the raise they got in the September contract. When we arrived, there were 110 people in the hall. It was really something. The major dispute was over how to cut up the raise and whether or not to give 1/4 cent per box to the loaders.

Celery rates are paid on a crew basis -- there are 56 cutters and packers, and six loaders (who lift the boxes onto the truck) in each crew. Their old rate for a standard box was 63 cents -- 55 3/4 cents to the cutters and packers and 7 1/4 cents to the loaders. The 55 3/4 cents is divided by the 56 and the 7 1/4 cents among the six. But this is on a production of about 5,000 boxes a day, so the amount adds up. The fight was over how to carve up the three-cent raise -- 2 3/4 cents to the ground crew and 1/4 cent to the loaders, or all three cents for the 56 and nothing for the six. There were also fights over how to figure rates on different size boxes.

So we spent three hours going over all this and doing some figures. After lots of arguments, the workers finally voted that each worker should get a raise which would give each one the same amount of the raise at the end of each day -- about $2.30 per day more. We haven't figured out what that would be yet -- probably around 1/3 cent for the loaders and 2 2/3 cents for the ground crew.

We're going off tomorrow to Orange County to study strawberry rates.

December 6, 1972 -- Today David and I drove down south to Anaheim and Orange County (near LA) to check on strawberry rates for the negotiations with Dave Walsh and Company. Walsh is way up north in Salinas and says he can't afford to pay our rates because of cheap labor competition from down south. So we wanted to check that.

We got some information on costs and profits from the county agricultural agent. Strawberries are very profitable -- averaging $3,000 per acre. Then we drove around to look for fields. We even found a small one right across from Disneyland in downtown Anaheim and some big fields, with crews planting, outside the town.

At one point we saw a young man plowing a strawberry field with a tractor. We watched him for a while from a distance and David asked me: "Does he look chicano to you?" I couldn't tell for sure. So David started walking toward him, planning to talk with him. But then he turned and came back and said: "He's Japanese." (Many strawberry operations are owned by Japanese growers.)

At another place, we waited till the large chicano planting crew stopped for the day, and asked them about rates. They were all apprehensive (probably illegals -- there are 100-150,000 working in the state) and said they were making $1.75 an hour -- very low. So Walsh is right about the cheap labor competition.

I'm really exhausted from all the driving around in the past two days. I ate

supper at David's home in Bakersfield, which was nice, but I was too tired for chess, which we usually play afterwards.

December 7, 1972 -- I just got back from Bakersfield from another movie: "When Legends Die" on Indians and new ways and old ways -- the best one I've seen (and I've seen 30 movies since July). Also "Tora, Tora, Tora" -- a Pearl Harbor spectacular, which I had seen before.

It was raining in Bakersfield, but it was snow by the time I got back up into the Tehachepi Mountains 20 minutes on the way back to La Paz.

Today I worked some more on a wine industry study I'm putting together, and more work organizing the files. I heard from Susan Drake that the two kids from Florida will be coming out in January if they can get a car. They should be helpful on major projects we have upcoming -- mainly getting ready for the 150 or so table grape contracts from 1970 which expire beginning next spring.

December 8, 1972 -- I started out at 7:00 a.m. this morning for Fresno, but we had so much snow that the roads were really bad and I turned back before even leaving La Paz. It has snowed for eight or nine hours since last night, and we've got three inches or so -- it really looks terrific.

Today I did more surveying of back magazines on new wine companies and got some stuff together on costs and returns for strawberries and grapes -- for current and future negotiations.

Then I played around with celery rates some more for the InterHarvest people. It's really a complex issue and I'll have to go up to Salinas again next week to get more accurate figures on rates and numbers of people.

December 9, 1972 -- I was up till 3:00 a.m. tonight working on a lettuce chain store report for a meeting with Cesar and others tomorrow to decide whether to take

on chains as a strategy. Hub Segur, Jessica Govea, and Marshall Ganz and I were putting it together. It was interesting but arduous.

We are getting information on the Top 10 grocery chains (Safeway, A & P, Kroger, Jewel, Lucky, Grand Union, Food Fair, Acme, National Tea, and Winn-Dixie), what cities they're in, how important the top cities are to them, and how we mught concentrate on boycotting one or two chains till we get exclusive agreements from them to carry just union lettuce, and thus have them put pressure on the growers to recognize us so there would be more union lettuce available for purchase. That's more or less what we'd like to do, but the problem is finding out where the chains are vulnerable and which, if any, to take on.

Also today we had a three-hour conference of all department heads (including me -- since I'm alone in Research). It was mostly for Cesar to get things off his chest -- how problems have to be decentralized, that he's spending too much time with petty things, that people in some departments are goofing off while others are working like mad, how the place is filthy, and so on. He put it well, and in a good tone, and at least he unburdened himself, but it was a dragged-out session. We also discussed miscellaneous small items and got reports from what everyone is working on, which was interesting.

Richard Ybarra and his wife -- Cesar was ribbing him to "have a boy" -- had a daughter.

December 10, 1972 -- I'm at the Desert Inn in El Centro near the Mexican border again. One of the workers came down with me from La Paz and I dropped him off at the bus station in Mexicali, Mexico.

I got in at 2:00 a.m., after leaving La Paz at 7:30 p.m. I was up till 3:00 a.m. this morning, working with Marshall Ganz on a study of the Top 10 Supermarkets, and

we had an all-day meeting that started at 10:00 a.m. and went till 7:30 p.m.

Cesar wants us to develop a national program that people can hook up with. Right now our supporters are not eating lettuce, but that's about all they're doing. So we need something to get things moving, because this support is not enough for us to win. Even the meetings Cesar had with 15-20 Eastern chains last August and five Western one last week haven't done much. They agreed to give preference to union lettuce, but then they slack off when we're not looking at them -- so it's a game of musical lettuce, bouncing back and forth between chains to get them clean. What he wants is a serious national campaign focussing on one or two or three chains stores so we can get people involved all across the country in a fight which will draw them in. Getting people not to eat lettuce is like punching air -- not much resistance there; but getting people to boycott A & P or Winn-Dixie is much stronger, since it gets them into a fight and makes them work more positively. Cesar thinks it might go like table grapes, where people all around the country were doing positive things on their own -- which the union didn't even know about.

So, after looking at the chains and area markets, what we're now thinking is to take on a nationwide boycott of three corporations: Safeway, which has 2,300 stores west of the Mississippi, plus Washington, D.C.; A & P, with 4,200 stores, mostly east of the Mississippi; and Kroger, which has 1,450 stores, mostly in the Midwest and upper South. Ideally, we would hit every store, even in the boondocks (like the A & P in Dade City), to put pressure on the company until the whole chain agrees not to carry non-union lettuce (and grapes, too, since our 1970 contracts will start expiring next April). We have "endless" time for this -- one of Cesar's favorite sayings is "Time is our money" -- so even if it takes two years, it's money in the bank for future campaigns.

What we're hoping is that we'll get a genuine nationwide program going, and that the pressure we put on the national chains will be transferred back on the growers, and we'll come out of this with many more contracts.

It was a really interesting discussion. Cesar, Dolores, Marshall, and Leroy Chatfield made most of the comments, but there were 10 or so others of us who added things from time to time. It was a good session, with lots of humor.

The meeting broke up about 6:00 p.m. and then Marshall Ganz and I spent an hour and a half in Cesar's office with him and Dolores going over our figures on the top three chains and what divisions seem to be the most vulnerable.

He took off tonight for a 1 1/2-to-two-week trip to New York to help the boycott there and also for an appearance on the "Dick Cavett Show."

December 11, 1972 -- I'm in San Diego, having come over here from El Centro this afternoon after doing some things in that court house and not having enough time in this one, so I'll finish here tomorrow.

I'm trying to find information on "Imperial Company," to which Freshpict says it has turned over all its 2,000 acres of asparagus (and thus doesn't any longer need our several hundred workers for that crop, and the same in lettuce, celery, and broccoli). We see Freshpict as a bunch of nasty bastards pulling all kinds of things just to get rid of us. They really deserve a Purex boycott. We're thinking that they are still continuing in all these businesses, but just pulling paper maneuvers with dummy companies. So I'm trying to find out whether there is evidence for our suspicions (the same situation as with VegPak in Salinas broccoli a week and a half ago). What I found today makes it look like that (along with other things we know), but nothing really concrete or conclusive. So I hope I'll be able to find some tangible things tomorrow. But they are very cagey.

The Bakersfield Californian
THURSDAY, DEC. 14, 1972 METROPOLITAN NEWS SECTION PAGES 17 TO 32

Teamsters war on Chavez for farm members

Leased Wire Services

BURLINGAME — The Teamsters Union has decided to contest the United Farm Workers Union (UFWU) in organizing agricultural workers in California, Arizona and Colorado.

Teamster officials made the decision Wednesday, the day after Teamsters President Frank E. Fitzsimmons denounced Cesar Chavez' UFWU as a "revolutionary movement which is perpetrating a fraud on the American public."

Einar O. Mohn, director of the Western Conference of Teamsters, said after a top-level meeting that his organization decided to renegotiate its contract with 170 growers in the West.

"This contract covers approximately 30,000 farm workers from the Salinas Valley through Southern California and in Arizona and Colorado," he said.

Fitzsimmons sat in on the talks and approved the conference's decision. Sources said this meant the Teamsters would try to sign up as many new members in farm work as possible.

The Teamsters meeting was also attended by three Roman Catholic leaders who have in the past tried to mediate farm worker issues.

They were Bishop Joseph Donnelly, Hartford, Conn.; Msgr. George Higgins, Washington, D.C., and Msgr. Roger Mahoney, Fresno.

When Fitzsimmons criticized Chavez Tuesday night at a growers' meeting in Los Angeles, he also called for an end to the "present attitude which makes the farm workers chattel to be exchanged back and forth according to the popularity of the one personality "Chavez."

The feud between Chavez' union and the teamsters has feen fairly quiet for nearly two years since the two unions reached a "peace pact" with the help of the Catholic hierarchy over the 1970 contracts.

The fight began when the teamsters issued a surprise announcement that they had just signed contracts with lettuce growers in central California who were the target of an organizing drive by the UFW.

The pact in general gave jurisdiction of field workers to the UFW while the teamsters' jurisdiction included truck drivers and other farm workers who do mostly mechanical jobs inside packing sheds.

But neither side ever believed the other wanted to really end the battle, labor observers note.

Chavez confided that he sometimes felt the teamsters were secretly working with the growers to break his union. Teamster officials said they sometimes thought Chavez was really a "revolutionary" out to take over not just field workers but ultimately all workers in agriculture, including those in the Teamsters Union.

Chavez' union is pressing a worldwide boycott of iceberg lettuce which Fitzsimmons says is harvested now by workers covered by a teamsters contract and so is not "nonunion" as Chavez contends.

December 12, 1972 -- I'm back in La Paz after a good trip and a productive day today.

I spent the morning in the court house in San Diego looking into the Imperial Company, the outfit Freshpict says it sold its asparagus operation to. I found some helpful information.

David suspended the talks with Freshpict yesterday. They're just messing around with us, and we won't get a contract until we put some boycott pressure on Purex.

Tonight at La Paz we had a singing candlelight procession service for Our Lady of Guadalupe, a major feast day for Mexican people. We marched all around the community here, visiting the houses of four newborn kids (six babies have been born to the 15-20 maried couples here since July). It was pretty nice. We even visited Cesar's house -- his daughter just had a baby -- and I saw his wife Helen's world-famous button collection, which she has displayed on a large serape on the wall -- 1,000 buttons or so (including about 150 UFW buttons). I traded her an anti-smily face button for one which she had in duplicate from the Toronto grape boycott: "N'Achetez Pas de Raisins."

Dolores gave a report to the group tonight on our picketing of the Farm Bureau's national convention in Los Angeles with farm workers from all over the state. Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons was the featured speaker. They're really planning a war with us.

December 13, 1972 -- The Teamsters announced that they will be doing more "organizing" of farm workers. We see this as simply signing "sweetheart contracts" with growers and not organizing or involving the workers at all.

Today I finished the report on my research trip and I set up some more meetings. I have to go up to Salinas tomorrow to meet an official at InterHarvest to

find out more on those celery rates we're still working on. The one to Fresno Friday (the next day) to meet with some college students for help on research.

December 14, 1972 -- I had a dozen activities today. I drove up to Salinas and on the way stopped in Bakersfield in a couple of places to pick up things on table grape "costs and returns" for growers. In Salinas, I met with people from the InterHarvest company to get more information on celery rates. We're still working on how to divide the three cent raise among the crews. But the IH people -- whom I had thought to be decent and reasonable and one of the few companies that really recognized us honorably -- turned out to be bastards after all. They wouldn't give me percentage on celery production by each variety of box, which I need for these figures.

Then I tried to see the city editor of the Salinas Californian, who's a friend of ours, for some information on Freshpict and Guild, but he was on vacation.

So I stopped off at our office in Salinas to see some people there, drove back to La Paz, and on the way visited the library and read the latest issue of MS. magazine, and went to the movies: "Fuzz" and "Hospital" (again). A busy day.

December 15, 1972 -- Dolores Huerta had some good words for me today, as I found from Susan Drake. Dolores had called me this afternoon about working up a suggested procedure for the election of representatives to the table grape negotiating committee, which will be meeting with the industry as a whole (150 or so growers) early this spring to re-negotiate all the grape contracts signed in 1970 (which were three-year agreements). So I said OK and that I'd have it for her in a half hour. Then Susan (who was in the room with her) later told me that when she hung up she said: "You know, some people you just ask to do something and they do it." So Dolores and I are back together again (after the tensions of the negotiations in Salinas).

So I did that thing and also got information on all our table grape workers by

STRAWBERRY COSTS

Monterey County Area

Costs are $7,081.55 per acre or $2.11/slide, based on a yield of 3350 slides per acre.

Harvest labor represents 43% of this cost.

Orange County Area

Costs are approximately $5,131.80 per acre or $2.05/slide, based on a yield of 2500 slides per acre. (Winter-planted berries).

Costs are approximately $5,977.55 per acre or $1.71/slide, based on a yield of 3500 slides per acre. (Summer-planted berries).

Harvest labor represents only 26% of the costs for a 2500 slide/acre yield, and only 32% of a 3500 slide/acre yield.

Harvest labor costs in the South are only 60% of what they are in the North (54¢/slide v. 90¢/slide).

Dave Walsh Company

His total costs are approximately $3,360,000 (480 acres x $7,000), since his overall yield averages 3250 (half at 4000 slides/acre and half at 2500), which is close to the area average of 3350.

His costs are ~~$2x~~ $6,031.80 per acre or $2.41/slide, based on a yield of 2500 slides/acre.

His costs are $7,887.54 per acre or $1.97/slide, when his yield is up to 4000 slides/acre.

His average cost is $2.14/slide, based on a yield of 3250 slides/acre or $6,957.55 per acre.

Profits -- Growers with 3 or 4 acres can make a net profit of $3,000 per acre, according to Fortune Magazine and the Monterey County agent for strawberries.

Large growers are less efficient, so if Walsh's profit is 1/3 less or $2,000 per acre, his total profit would be $960,000, a 28.5% return.

When we get the Market News annual report on strawberries, we'll be able to figure returns and profits more specifically.

Jim Horgan
December 16, 1972

area -- there are approximately 28,286 of them. At this point, we're envisioning a negotiating committee of 20 representing them: four from Coachella (about 100 miles north of the Mexican border), one from the Tolleson, Arizona, area; four from Lamont (about 20 miles from La Paz in the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley), six from Delano (since it has 8,200 workers at peak), two from Poplar, and three from Selma (near Fresno).

We'll have a general meeting of the 200 or 300 table grape Ranch Committee members here in early January and then have each area select delegates. Then a week later a meeting of the committee of 20, and then maybe another to discuss specific wages and terms. Then we're ready to negotiate with growers representing the industry.

I also put together a one-page report on research activities.

December 16, 1972 -- Today I put together all kinds of reports. One was an analysis of strawberry costs and profits -- for the negotiations we're continuing with the Dave Walsh Company (whose contract expired October 8). It costs about $7,000 an acre to grow strawberries; but the return is about $10,000 an acre -- a net of $3,000 per acre.

I also wrote a long report on celery rates and how the three-cent raise should be split between the cutters and the loaders to give them, an equal raise.

Then I did a piece on the Carnation Company for Susan Drake, Cesar's secretary. The company wrote Cesar a really patronizing letter inviting him to be included in a collection of biographical sketches of "prominent Hispano-Americans" which they plan to publish for "social consciousness" PR reasons. Susan thought it might be nice to see if Carnation had any land and workers, and maybe we could trade: biographical data on Cesar in return for a union contract. But after I looked into it, I

told her that all they have are a few cowboys and chicken workers.

There was a meeting of all the California-Arizona field office staff (about 50 people) here today for an orientation on what's been happening and for a discussion of arrangements for the table grape negotiations. Tomorrow Dolores wants me to present them a report on the figures we have of workers by area.

David Burciaga also remarked to me that in a meeting he had with Dolores this afternoon, she was saying very positive things about me, now that we are working together. Much different from the conflict in Salinas.

Tonight he and I played pool in Bakersfield, which we've done three or four times. (I came out four games to three.) So he bought me a taco made from beef tongue and onion. Not bad if you're really hungry.

December 17, 1972 -- I'm waiting to start my first shift at guard duty tonight from midnight to 2:00 a.m. The Security Department has gotten about 25 of us from other departments to help with a two-hour shift a week, patrolling the 200 acres of La Paz, mainly to watch for fires and any other things, too. Now that we are involved in so many actions, people may try to pull something against us or against Cesar.

This morning I gave a report to the Field Office people on the number of workers by area throughout the year, plus charts on the board. Very classy stuff. The United Farm Workers Union has about 58,000 members in all crops -- with about 28,000 employed in our peak month in mid-summer, dropping down to 11,000 or so employed in mid-winter. Delano is our biggest office, with 9,000 workers there in August.

There was much discussion by Cesar on procedures for electing delegates to the table grape negotiating committee, and also a briefing on the Teamsters' war against us.

December 18, 1972 -- I talked with Dolores today about taking off for two

weeks for St. Louis for the holidays. All she said was to sent a note to Cesar letting him know when I was going and when I'd be back.

December 19, 1972 -- More work on miscellaneous projects today.

December 20, 1972 -- Today I finished an analysis of strawberries for the Dave Walsh negotiations (which, like the others, are not going well) -- a large chart with graph lines in different colors showing shipments and prices growers got this year.

I also called one of the students from New College in Sarasota, Florida, to clarify arrangements for his coming out here to help in research this January. He sounded very eager.

I also had a brief talk with Dolores and a quick meeting with Cesar on Freshpict.

December 21, 1972 -- More work on strawberry figures for the Dave Walsh Company talks. Walsh makes nearly a 50% profit and in the negotiations he is screaming that he can't compete because he is the only strawberry grower with a union.

Then this afternoon I met with Dan Higgins, a law student from Stanford. I didn't know him, but he is a friend of a guy I know who has helped us with research (that is, Larry Casalino, who wrote an article published in Ramparts last summer on corporate land ownership). Higgins called me from Bakersfield and asked if he could come up, and he did. He's doing a report on tax-shelter land investments, so I told him all about Buttes Gas & Oil's three subsidiaries and gave him some other information. He's going to send us a copy when he's done, and it should be pretty good.

Then I finally did a report for Bob Peterson (vice president for academic affairs at Saint Leo College) on what's been going on and what I've been doing here during my sabbatical leave.

David invited me to dinner tonight and it was another tremendous one. I got there an hour late because of the rush of packing for the holidays and could only stay 45 minutes. His wife is a very pleasant woman. I really like him and I'm glad I have had a chance to work with him.

Then I left for the Los Angeles Airport for Saint Louis and the Christmas holidays.

January 1973

January 3, 1973 -- I returned from Saint Louis to the Los Angeles Airport, and before coming back to La Paz, I drove 100 miles down to San Diego to do some court house checking on the Imperial Company and Freshpict. No direct information. Then I came back to La Paz. I'm really woozy and out of it with the flu.

January 4, 1973 -- A rough day today and I'm now holed up in the Motel 6 in Bakersfield.

Cesar wants to write a letter to every U.S. Senator and member of the House about the war in Vietnam, so I drove down to Bakersfield this afternoon to see if the library had the latest list. I had called Sen. Alan Cranston's office earlier, but they didn't have one. On the way down the mountain, the fog was so thick it really scared me, but I thought it would ease up so I kept going. It just got worse. Usually we have fog two or three days a week all winter long, but you can drive along at 50-60 miles an hour in it OK. But this was for only 20-30 miles per hour for 15 miles, so I decided not to go back up to La Paz (for fear of running into the back of a semi on the way up the mountain). I've still got the flu pretty bad. So I stopped off at the library but I was too woozy to do any Congress checking, so I picked up a couple of books and went over to the motel to get a room. As I was driving around it looking for a place to park, I backed into a concrete post and did about $150 damage to the bumper and trunk (like a giant karate chop in the rear end). So I crawled into bed at 3:15 p.m.

January 5, 1973 -- Today after I came back from Bakersfield, I spent most of the day in bed, still out of it with the flu. I've been taking corecedin and Vicks losenges and "Vapo Rub." I got rid of most of the newspapers I was behind on and I also read George Plimpton's Out of My League, his first sports adventure book, on pitching in an All Star game in 1961 -- pretty good.

Tonight we had a community meeting with reports on what's been happening. The biggest news is about the Teamsters. On December 29, the Supreme Court of California finally ruled on the injunction against our lettuce strike of 1970, overturning the injunction and thus declaring that the Teamsters' contracts were unrepresentative of the workers' desires and were the result of favoritism by the growers.

Also, this past Wednesday (today is Friday), we filed suit against 169 lettuce growers and the Western Conference of Teamsters for $213 million, charging conspiracy under anti-trust laws, and also charging racism and the violation of civil rights under that 1870 civil rights act that all those southern murders of the 1960s were prosecuted under. So things are looking up for us there.

In Arizona, our candidate Jerry Pollock is doing a Lawton Chiles-style walk around the state but getting only a mixed reception. We have 165,000 petition signatures for the recall of Governor Jack Williams -- and probably enough valid ones of the 103,000 needed to set up a recall election. But if we turn them in now, an election will have to be held in 30 days and we don't think we (Pollock) can win if it's that soon. But if we delay turning in the signatures, the Republican legislature, which convenes January 8, may pass laws making recalls tougher (such as requiring 300,000 signatures instead of 103,000) -- so we're in a hard position.

During the meeting, Cesar also gave us a heavy rap on the food in the kitchen. He's a vegetarian and very health conscious (and fanatic against smoking, too -- no smoking when he's in the room). He got cheers for denouncing refined sugar, salt, and processed flour, all of which he wants us to get rid of. He made a pitch for vegetarianism, too, suggesting that we bring the steer currently grazing at Forth Acres in Delano up to La Paz for a public slaughtering (which got boos).

There was much debate among the staff about lettuce. Should we eat no lettuce

Pollock's Walking Candidacy

By LARRY WIPPMAN

Walking nearly 700 miles through Southern Arizona has convinced Phoenix attorney Gerald Pollock that he can unseat Gov. Jack Williams.

Pollock, a Democrat, announced he would oppose Williams if the movement to recall Williams succeedes in bringing about an election. The movement began last May, after Williams signed the Farm Labor Act before meeting the United Farm Workers head Cesar Chavez.

POLLOCK SAID he decided to be a candidate after the Recall Committee, which then consisted of some 31 organizations, asked him to run.

In an attempt to meet the people, Pollock began his walk on Dec. 21. He has since stopped in about 40 communities.

He walked into Tucson Sunday on the Old Benson Highway having started the last leg of the trip at the border, walking through Douglas, Bisbee, Sierra Vista, Tombstone and Benson. Pollock said he has been walking eight hours a day.

A CAMPER follows close to him as he walks. Usually he eats lunch in the camper, but stays overnight with residents of the communities he walks through. During the walk, he has made speeches, held interviews, and informally met the people.

Pollock, 40, ran for Congress in Arizona's District 1 twice. He lost to John J. Rhodes, who is now serving his 12th term, both times - by 30,000 votes in 1970, and 18,000 in 1972. Both times Pollock counted largely on student and minority support.

He said if he could do as well in Maricopa County against Williams, he would be the next governor.

Pollock, who has lived in Phoenix for 25 years, said Williams' leadership has been counter-productive.

"THERE IS no citizen input, except maybe for the John Birch Society," he said. "It is an elitist executive branch."

Pollock pointed to the fields of education and welfare. He said when an appointment is to be made, Williams does not look to educators or people experienced in the field, but appoints unqualified people.

"The result of Williams' administration has been an alarming centralization of control in his office which is abusive to the communities. There is no attempt to make citizen input," he said.

AN EXAMPLE of this, he said, is the staggered re-evaluation of property, which Pollock said works against the working people and the poor. He said the statute empowers the state to remove assessors who don't go along with the plan.

"The people who give the cliches of returning government to the people are contriving to take it away," Pollock said. "This governor hates the poor and working people."

Health and welfare programs were what Pollock discussed most as he walked along Benson Highway. He walked facing traffic, which was light, but moving fast.

POLLOCK CLAIMED Williams has blocked health and welfare programs, including federally funded programs, in order to present a balanced budget and be able to point to low spending.

"Breaking the cycle of poverty is the purpose of welfare," Pollock argued. "Williams views it as a means of maintaining punitively a low subsistence level for people in poverty so he can brag about minimal spending."

Pollock said if Williams spent one day walking with him he could see how bad the Arizona health care situation is.

"IN ELOY, where 8,000 people live, there is one doctor. In Superior, there is a hospital, but you have to be an employe of Magma Copper Co. to get in," he said.

"I've been in counties where the county hospital had no doctors," he said.

"We're probably the only state without Medicaid," Pollock said. "This is brutal to the poor and deprives Arizona of millions of dollars."

POLLOCK ESTIMATED Arizona was losing $50 million by lacking federally funded health and welfare programs.

Pollock also criticized Williams for what he claims has been a policy of playing one segment of society against another - the

—Wildcat photo by Tim Fuller

middle class against the poor and the mining communities against the environmentalists.

"A clean environment and full employment are compatible," Pollock argued. "The mining companies are not going to walk away from nearly a billion-dollar investment in land and equipment because they have to spend $15 million on pollution control equipment."

WHILE HE WAS on the subject of environment, Pollock asked rhetorically, "What do you think of a governor who's nationally considered an environmental joke?"

Pollock, a member of the Arizona Correction Association, then turned his attention to prisons.

"Williams is unable to comprehend that the principle of prisons is to rehabilitate. The man he appointed to head Arizona's penal system has dubious qualifications and was released from his last position," he said.

HE SAID the Arizona Correction Association found it impossible to get a response from the Board of Corrections or the governor when they tried to discuss the problems of the prisons.

"You just can't get through to the castle," he said. "The bureaucracy is inpenetrable. Its purpose is its own perpetuation."

At this point it was suggested Pollock take a break. The walk into Tucson was slightly ahead of schedule, and Pollock was close to South Sixth Avenue and Interstate 10, where he was to meet supporters and walk to the University.

DURING LUNCH, a staffer from a federally funded labor program came in to pay his respects. "I think you'll get the Mexican-American vote," the supporter, a Mexican-American himself, assured him.

Pollock, who teaches state government at Phoenix College, said his organization was building well, with hundreds of people already working in the campaign.

He said part of his week in Tucson will be spent familiarizing Pima County Democrats with his stands on the issues. He has been scheduled for meetings and speeches throughout the week. He said he received overwhelming support from Democrats in Maricopa County, who were already acquainted with his

Walking Candidate Cites Williams' Failures

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Arizona Daily Wildcat

Tuesday, January 30, 1973

at all or make an exception for union lettuce? We decided to have union lettuce in our kitchen (workers bring it to us) in spite of some opposition, since some of the people here have stopped eating lettuce personally, in line with some of our supporters around the country. But Cesar made the point that we should support our own lettuce-worker members, especially at InterHarvest, who have really struggled to get the contracts we have in lettuce.

January 6, 1973 -- Today we had a long all-day meeting with 120 or so Ranch Committee people from all the table grape areas. Cesar talked about the structure of the negotiations and the need for their ideas on how we could insure proper representation for the 28,000 or so table grape workers, but at the same time keep the negotiating committee down to a manageable size.

Then more on all kinds of things -- he's always interesting to listen to, and he's always educating everyone, especially the workers in detecting the ways the growers are screwing them. He went through a long rap on how workers think that they like incentive piece rates for harvesting, but that the grower really makes out from their increased production. He was very good, pacing back and forth and scribbling diagrams all over the board, and in good humor.

Then David Burciaga went through the basic table grape contract section by section to discuss any problems or changes we should propose -- and the workers had a lot of them.

For the rest of the month, there will be meetings with all the Ranch Committees in each of the six or seven table grape areas of the state for more discussion, with negotiations probably starting in February (since the first contracts expire in early April).

The flu has kept me from doing much lately, but I am gradually recovering.

January 7, 1973 -- Tonight (Sunday) I went to the movies in Bakersfield: "The Getaway" with Steve McQueen and Ali McGraw.

This afternoon, Larry Gurel, one of the students from New College in Florida, arrived. We spent a couple of hours going around the place, talking about the research department, and what's been happening with the union in general. He seems very sharp and unassuming and easy to get along with. His friend Kem Goethe is arriving tomorrow. So things look pretty good.

January 8, 1973 -- Today I finally got back to some serious work and started cleaning off the desk of all the piled up papers and got some things done on grapes.

Kem Goethe, the other student from New College in Florida, got in today. He much less dynamic but seems OK. So I suggested that they take a couple of days to get oriented, review the files, get familiar with California agriculture, and read all the 1972 El Malcriado's to catch up on the union in general. Then we'll get going on cost and profit studies for the 130 table grape growers whose negotiations start next month.

The major project here for tomorrow is mass picketing of the Teamster headquarters in Burlingame (near San Francisco) by 200 or 300 women and children. Lots of farm workers are going, including about 20-30 women and kids from La Paz. It's a big moral force thing and everyone is up for it.

January 9, 1973 -- Today I got some stuff together on the table grape profit study we're working on and then outlined the project for Cesar, so he'll know what we're doing.

I also did some things on a Vacation Fund he'd like to start. In our plan, the growers would contribute 5 or 10 cents an hour for each worker, who could take it out at the end of the year. Right now, it's set up in the contract that a worker has to work 2,000 hours a year for a vacation -- which means very few qualify (fewer than

10%). So we're trying to figure out how much money would be involved in such a fund.

Larry Gurel and Kem Goethe have been reading general materials and going through the files for the past two days. Today they started helping with the newspaper clippings, which have piled up for the past several months. We'll begin on the grape project in the next day or so.

Yesterday a couple of people passed through here from Hawaii. They're both with the American Federation of Teachers there and are having their first negotiations for several thousand college teachers in the state system. They wanted some ideas on tactics and strategy, so David and I spent an hour with them. It was a great session and they said they learned a lot. They took our photos and went away very pleased.

January 10, 1973 -- Today the three of us did some library work in Bakersfield on A & P to prepare a report with the Boycott Office to send out to all the boycotters in the East with infor on consumer issues and company layout to help in the A & P campaign on the lettuce boycott. We got some good general material, and Larry & Kem were anxious to get away from the office clippings, so it was a good project for them.

Tonight I went back down to Bakersfield to the movies: "Avanti" with Jack Lemmon and Juliet Mills, and "Pulp" with Michael Caine (terrible). All we have around here are things I've already seen.

David is still in Salinas with the Walsh strawberry negotiations, so they must be going pretty well. And we heard that the women's march on the Teamster headquarters in Burlingame went well today. There were 200-300 women and children and lots of police, who forced them out of the building into the rain, with lots of kids crying and much kneeling in the mud and praying. It must have been pretty dramatic.

Cesar is still off on a speaking tour around the country.

January 11, 1973 -- Today we did some more work at the Bakersfield library, this time on Kroger -- checking interlocking directorates, the New York Times index and Readers Guide for stories and articles on the company for the past 15-20 years. We're looking particularly for consumer issues -- FTC suits, food poisonings, FDA charges, and so on. We found some botulism and salmonella episodes, which we may be able to use on leaflets. Not much else.

I was also reading a Ph. D. thesis in agricultural economics someone did at Berkeley on the economic impact of the table grape boycott. It's really interesting, and valuable for us, because he tries to analyze exactly what happened in the boycott and why the growers finally signed. I want to do a digest of his conclusions.

January 12, 1973 -- Today we started seriously getting into the table grape project. We went through all the contracts in the legal department and reviewed various lists of them, none of which are complete or have all the information we want. We need a list of all the table grape growers according to each county they're in so we can check on their holdings and other connections by way of coming up with an estimate of their profits. It will take us several weeks, if not a couple of months, to do the whole job. But it's an interesting project and will be helpful in the negotiations if we do it right.

David has been in negotiations with the Dave Walsh Company, our only strawberry grower, and used some figures from a cost study on his profits I did before Christmas. From Walsh's reaction, David thinks the cost and profit information was pretty accurate, so that was good. And if those estimates were correct, we can use the same approach in grapes and maybe be accurate, too.

January 13, 1973 -- We just got back from the movies. Seven of us went down to Bakersfield and we even ran into David Burciaga and his wife Louise. We saw

"McCabe and Mrs. Miller" and "Deliverance" -- both of which I had seen before, but both of which were very much worth seeing again.

Today we did more on the table grape growers. We're still going through all the lists we have in order to compile one master list of all the table grape growers by county, so we can check each one in the county court house. There are lots of them -- 130-150 -- so it will probably take several weeks before it's completed. We've also got some information on production through the growers payments to our Farm Workers Fund. They are supposed to pay two cents a box to us. That gives us a figure on how many boxes of grapes each produces for the year, so we can calculate their profits. But not everyone pays (because they consider it an "illegal" fund, even though it's in the contract). We may even be able to interview a number of growers and look at their books, on the argument of checking their Farm Worker Fund records, and thus get their production figures. So it's an interesting project.

January 14, 1973 -- Today is Sunday and I have driven up to Fremont, near San Francisco, and I'm spending the night at Alan Kirshner's house. He teaches at Ohlone College here and has set up a special course with four students to do research for us. Tomorrow I'm going to meet with them and go through some projects and research techniques.

I met him at a convention in Los Angeles in November and spoke to some students here shortly thereafter. This session is for a detailed discussion. He is about 30 or 35 and seems pretty radical. He used to teach at the University of West Florida in Pensacola and was fired for some kind of activity a year or two ago.

When I came out to the house, a young girl opened the door and I told her who I was and asked if her father were here. She turns out to be his wife. She looks 15 but is probably about 20. What a gaffe. She's a student at Ohlone.

It was a 5 1/2-hour drive up here, but it should be worth it if the kids can do some good research for us. I'm hoping I won't have to do too much on it myself, so I hope they can handle things on their own. I'm anxious to get into the grape project, which is the central thing for us.

January 15, 1973 -- I'm staying over in Salinas again (Motel 6) after the trip to Fremont, an hour north of here. Both of the Kirshners are very nice, even though they use radical rhetoric a little too much for my taste. It was good of them to put me up and make all the arrangements for the research.

This morning I met with the three students who will be doing the project. It's set up as a three-credit course entitled Political Science 101 The Politics of Agribusiness, with Alan Kirshner as the instructor and me as a "consultant" -- all with official school approval. I discussed with the three students the kinds of things that are most helpful to us (specific marketing areas for the boycott and specific company profit studies for the negotiations) and then we discussed what kinds of crops to get into and how to find the information. What we finally decided to do was a study of Santa Clara County, just to the south of the college, since they can't travel too far. They're going to do some interviews with County Agents and Agricultural Commissioners to get an idea of which are the most important crops with the largest amounts of hand labor and then they'll each pick a crop and do full reports on the leading growers in the county, based on court house records and interviews with the growers.

After we discussed the general scene, we drove to the court house in San Jose, a half hour away, and looked through the kinds of records they'll be using in the Tax Assessor's office, the Recorder's office, and the Clerk's office. They seemed pretty interested in it, so we should get some good stuff. One of the chief crops there is strawberries, so if they come up with anything, we may be able to use it in the Dave

Walsh negotiations, which are going on now. The rest of the stuff may be useful for the far future, after we get through lettuce and Sunkist oranges (if we can first get through the table grape contracts and get them renewed). That will be the real test on whether we stay alive as a union.

So it looks like things will go on there pretty well. I'll be in touch with Kirshner every week or so and will probably come back up there once or twice to meet with the researchers before the quarter ends on March 15. Then maybe we'll have another group after that.

I'm staying over in Salinas in order to meet with Paul Aschenbrenner and another group at Hartnell College here. Maybe we can get some action on Salinas lettuce growers, since they're in a good location for research on that.

Then I want to go over to Monterey tomorrow to get some information on the Bing Crosby Golf Tournament scheduled for two weeks for now. Guild Wine has been a sponsor for the past two years and I want to see if they're doing so again this year, so maybe we can have some picket action. The Guild brandy boycott in Wisconsin is going very well. The White River strikees have gotten almost all the liquor stores in 8 or 10 cities to take it off the shelves, so now they may be sent into a different area.

More movies: "Skin Game" and "Super Fly" (which has many political problems in terms of the image it projects for black people).

January 16, 1973 -- I'm back at La Paz after a good road trip.

Today I spoke with Paul Aschenbrenner, who teaches history at Hartnell College in Salinas. They're on the semester system and are just finishing up, so the timing is good for some special research projects on lettuce growers there, beginning in late January. I'll come back up in early February to go over the details.

Then I went out to the "world famous" Pebble Beach Golf Course in Monterey

-- not to play golf, but to check on the Bing Crosby Tournament, which will be held in two weeks. One of the trade magazines said that Guild Wines has been a sponsor for the past two years, so I wanted to check the situation for this year. I went on that "17-Mile Drive" along the ocean to get to the publicity office (the guard let me pass for free) and I got what I wanted there -- but Guild only took out an ad in the program, along with 100 other companies. So no pickets.

Then the long drive back to La Paz.

In Bakersfield, I stopped off a a Thrifty Drug Store which features five-cent ice cream cones in a multitude of flavors -- I can't pass it up and have been there frequently.

January 17, 1973 -- Here we are in Riverside, about 2 1/2 hours south of La Paz near the Coachella Valley. The three of us drove down here this morning to start the court house research on the table grape growers, doing the 30 or so from the Coachella Valley. It's really pretty country here -- mountains and desert all around, totally fifferent from Salinas or the San Joaquin Valley.

We spent the afternoon in the court house, getting tax assessor records on land ownership and recorder's office information on deeds, leases, and partnerships. We'd like to finish tomorrow and go on to Arizona for the three or four contracts there, but we'll probably have enough work to keep us here till Friday (today is Wednesday), and then maybe hit Arizona next week.

Larry and Kem are really into the project and glad to be traveling around here.

January 18, 1973 -- We're still in Riverside and we will be tomorrow and next week, too. This is a huge project, just checking land ownership and all the leases and deeds and other transactions for the 30-35 Coachella Valley table grape growers for the past three years. We haven't even finished with the tax assessor's office after a

day and a half. But tonight I started marking the holdings on a map of the valley. It really looks neat in eight or nine colors of felt-tipped pens.

January 19, 1973 -- We drove back to La Paz tonight (Friday) after three days in the Riverside court house. The project is interesting, but frustrating, too, since we won't be able to find out all the land these growers operate because they don't file all their leases in the public records.

Before we came back, we drove down to the Coachella field office an hour away to talk with Ray Huerta (no relation to Dolores) about his estimate on how much land each grower has and what crops they grow. His figures are pretty loose and general, but they'll help us know if we're in the ball park when we come up with our own analysis.

At La Paz we came back to pretty tight security. The Delano field office was bombed Wednesday night. No one was hurt -- just a fair-sized hole in the wall and broken windows. But several people from all departments here were helping the giuards keep watch by doing two-hour shifts through the night.

We also learned that on Tuesday the Teamsters announced they had renegotiated their "contracts" with 169 lettuce growers. They got raises just above ours ($2.30 for general labor v. $2.25 at InterHarvest -- and higher in the other categories as far as we can tell). But no hiring hall like we have (so their growers can contract out all the work if they want). The newspapers also mentioned a pension plan and unemployment insurance (which we don't have), plus a medical plan. It's a real payoff to the Teamsters to get us off the growers' backs. And it's still a phoney union with no power for the workers in the midst of such clubby cuddling between the Teamsters and the growers.

Next week we'll have to spend three or four days in Riverside finishing up the

court house check on the 32 Coachella Valley table grape growers. Then on to Arizona for the four there and then a full report before we start with the growers up here in the San Joaquin Valley.

We also picked up some information on costs and production for the Coachella area, so now we know what it costs to grow grapes all over the state, and what prices the growers got for selling them. What we have to do is figure out how that applies to each grower.

January 20, 1973 -- Today we did some work on the cost figures for table grapes, and also caught up on the mail and newspapers, which had piled up. I finished taking notes from a Berkeley Ph. D. thesis on an economic analysis of the table grape boycott, which tries to show what happened in an economic sense: price, demand, geographic shift, diversion of crop to wine, and so on. It's very interesting and helpful with actual figures on what did happen. Tomorrow I'm going to digest it in a memo for Cesar.

Coming back here from Coachella yesterday, we ran into some crazy weather -- a sandstorm, the first one I've been in. It was blowing all over the place and blotted out the sky (which was clear and sunny), but you could still drive along at 50-60 miles an hour in most places (it ran for about 10-15 miles). It's all desert from here south, except for the cities and the Coachella and Imperial Valleys, which really blossom because of water. Completely different from up north. Then on the way back, as we got closer to La Paz, there was snow all around Tehachepi in the mountains, but no snow at all at La Paz, 10 miles away but 1,400 feet lower down the mountain.

January 21, 1973 -- It's 2:00 a.m. and I just got back from the anti-bomber watch. I started at 11:00 p.m. walking all through the "hospital," where we have lots of people living (formerly the hospital from the TB sanatarium days). Then I spent two

hours on the third-floor porch, 50 feet up with a great view of the surrounding area. There were three or four people covering other parts, plus two cars prowling the grounds. I don't know what I would have done if I had seen anyone, but as it was, no one came, so it was OK but cold.

This afternoon I finished the summary analysis on what happened in the grape boycott. I also did another one on costs and profits for 1972 table grapes. Tonight I went to the movies in Tehachapi: "Vanishing Wilderness" -- a nature documentary.

January 22, 1973 -- We're back in Riverside again.

We saw Cesar before we left. This was the first chance Larry and Kem have had to meet him. We talked for 20 minutes or so, and I went over the maps we'd made, the memos on the boycott and costs, and what we'd been doing in general.

I also showed him the copy of the Florida Farm Bureau magazine with his picture on the cover, naming him "Man of the Year." He read their statement (which compared him to Adolf Hitler, Joseph Stalin, and Mao Tse-Tung) and said: "Those son of a bitches put me in with Hitler and Stalin, but Mao Tse-Tung's not too bad."

Then he went over some things he wanted us to look into in Fresno County, then some departmental and budget things, and he even took care of small details like getting us another car to use. So it was a good meeting.

I was sorry to hear today about Lyndon Johnson's death. In spite of the war, I think he had some positive accomplishments, and I think he had a genuine feeling on civil rights and on the poverty war. It's really hard to evaluate him, but I think he was a good man.

We got down to Riverside at 1:00 p.m. and spent the rest of the afternoon in the court house. Tomorrow I'm going down to Coachella and Thermal to talk with two growers and examine their books. They grow both table grapes and dates and have told

MEMORANDUM

To: Cesar
From: Jim Horgan
Re: What Happened in the Table Grape Boycott
Date: January 21, 1973

These are the conclusions from an economic analysis of the table grape boycott done as a Ph. D. dissertation in agricultural economics at Berkeley by Peter Wyeth, which Hub Segur got from him last November. He focuses on 1968 and 1969, since most growers signed in 1970 before they harvested, and he draws his information from all the government and industry figures available for those two seasons, plus interviews with growers and the files in the Boycott Office Central.

1. The boycott affected demand by causing some shift of table varieties to wineries, especially in 1969 (but this is hard to evaluate because the strength of the wine market was growing anyway in the late 1960s). He estimates, however, that the growers' income was down 5% just from this factor of shifting from an $82.90/ton average table grape market in 1969 to a $34.50/ton average wine grape market.

2. The boycott also affected demand by causing a substantial geographical reallocation of the market from the East (down 18% in 1968-1969) to the South (up 30% in those years), with the Midwest and the West showing differences in cities but generally the same for the whole region. It also caused a shift away from the 46 major metropolitan areas (down 18% in 1968-1969) to smaller cities and outlying areas. It's hard to estimate the impact on growers' profits from this, but there were lots of extra costs in the shift, especially to the "inferior Southern market" where people were not used to paying high prices for quality grapes. Exports outside the US did rise in 1969, but it is not clear if the boycott caused this, since the trend had been up in the preceding years.

3. The boycott also affected demand by causing a rise in cold storage holdings for the San Joaquin Valley growers, especially at the end of 1969, causing an indeterminate loss from overly long storage, with the growers waiting for prices which never did come up.

4. The boycott had a substantial affect on FOB prices to growers. Overall, California growers' income was down 20-30% in 1968-1969 with the statewide average 40¢/lug lower in 1968 and $1.00/lug lower in 1969. In the Coachella Valley (which collects very good data and reports), prices were 76¢/lug less in 1969 than they would have been, and the area growers lost $1,967,000. The boycott was most strongly felt late in the 1969 season, with the lowest FOB prices for all varieties in July and from November to early 1970. This does not take into consideration the much lower consignment sale prices, for which no figures are available.

5. The boycott did not affect retail prices very much, at least for Thompsons, which maintained their expected levels. What the boycott did here was to chase the grapes away from the most heavily boycotted cities, and the result was that the price of those lower quantities stayed up. Retailers had growers in a poor bargaining position because of the boycott, and growers bore the full brunt in the form of lower FOB prices.

6. The Coachella Valley growers set the tone for all of California. When they experienced particularly low demand and prices in mid-1969, that brought anxiety to the San Joaquin Valley growers and made them less eager to hold out thereafter.

7. The increased grape purchases by the Department of Defense were not significant overall and were probably offset by the unfavorable publicity which attracted many people to the boycott.

8. Forces extraneous to the boycott were also influential. 1969 was a tight money year, which made it difficult for the growers to get bank loans at decent interest rates. The union was also aided by a favorable social climate in the country. And the growers were helped by a strong wine market in those years (although still at lower prices than the table grape market).

9. In spite of these income cuts, did the growers make a profit during boycott? On the basis of general cost studies and basic FOB returns, it cost about $2.74/lug to grow Thompson seedless in 1969, with an average return of $3.49/lug statewide, so at the very best they made 75¢/lug. It cost $2.82/lug to grow Emperors in 1969, with an average return of $2.53/lug, so at the very least they lost 29¢/lug. This does not take into consideration the increased cost of shifting to new geographical markets, losses in selling on the wine grape market, losses from lengthy cold storage, the difficulty of getting bank loans at reasonable rates, the larger proportion of grapes sold on consignment at prices less than FOB levels, the fact that most growers do nothhave costs as low as these general studies predict, plus whatever losses they had in 1970 from all these factors (not covered in this economic analysis).

10. From all of this, one could estimate (Wyeth does not) that growers' income was cut by perhaps 50% and maybe more during the boycott and that they took substantial losses. The Giumarra prospectus, for example, shows the following figures: just on his table grape operations:

1968 losses of $83,358 on sales of $7,407,561
1969 profits of $501,184 on sales of $7,728,149
1970 losses of $81,303 on sales of $6,860,856
1971 profits of $1,528,191 on sales of $8,703,051
1972 profits of $2,723,348 on sales of $10,314,768

11. The union contract represented a cost of 10% more for growers of Thompson seedless and about 7% more for Emperors. The general cost sheets show labor at $1.90/hour average in 1970 and $2.30/hour in 1972 (up 21%). Since labor represents 50% of the cost of growing Thompsons, the contract cost the grower 10% more, and since labor represents only 33% of the cost of growing Emperors, it cost those growers 7% more.

cc: Rub Segur, BOC

David that they're so broke they can't afford any wage increase. So we asked them to prove that to us, so that't what I'll try to see tomorrow.

I'm watching an extraordinary special on African wild dogs on the motel television (I rarely get to watch TV). It was filmed by a family who followed the same pack for two years and gave each of the dogs names and learned all their relationships: who was leader, who was most submissive, who had been outcast and why, and a particular focus on a small pup named "Solo." Remarkable.

January 23, 1973 -- We're still in Riverside at the Motel 6 and spent most of the day in the court house. Then we left Kem there, and Larry and I drove down to Coachella, an hour away. I dropped him off at the County Agent's office to get more information on grapes, and I went to talk with two growers about their financial records.

In addition to table grapes, they both grow dates. (This area bills itself as the "Date Capital of the United States" and you can get a date shake at a hamburger place.) In the current negotiations, they both said they can't afford wage increases because they lost money last year. So David Burciaga asked me to meet with them and go over their books to see if it were true.

I went out to Bobara Ranch to see Bob Herbekian (Armenian in background, as are many Coachella growers), who had about 150 acres of grapes and 10 acres of date palms. He said he took in $7,040 and spent $7,123 last year, losing about $100 in his operation. He was very personable and showed me all around -- including how dates are cultivated -- but you never know if you can trust them in financial figures.

Laflin & Laflin is slightly smaller, but with 60 acres of dates, 30 in grapes, and 20 in asparagus. He showed me records at great length at his accountant's office, his house, and his packing shed, and he gave me the same sad story. He even offered to let

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me examine his income tax forms, but I said it wasn't necessary. (I didn't want to go as far as that.) He was very pleasant and friendly, too. It's hard to tell if they're speaking the truth, but I'm sympathetic to their situation and believe them.

Our feeling about small growers or any growers who say they are losing money, and poormouth about wage increases is that if they can't afford to pay a living wage (and that's just about what our members are getting), then they shouldn't be in agriculture. That's hard, but they never think of the workers when they talk about money.

I heard Nixon's speech on the cease-fire tonight, with all the talk of "honor." At least it looks like we'll be out of the damn thing.

January 24, 1973 -- It's 2:00 a.m. and I've just finished a fantastic map of the Coachella Valley showing in nine felt-tip colors the 50 growers we've been researching for the past week. It took about seven or eight hours to get them all down, and it shows about 12,000 acres. Since there are only 7,300 acres of table grapes here, we're now going to try to drive around and check the crops on all of it so we can see what is in grapes, dates, citrus, asparagus, carrots, squash, nuts, and so on.

We're spending the night at the Desert Palms Motel in Indio (right next to Coachella, an hour south of Riverside). We finished the bulk of the work there this afternoon and said a tearful goodby to the five or six clerks and secretaries in the Recorder's office who had been getting microfilm cards and files for us for the past six days (we didn't tell them that we were with the United Farm Workers). Then we came down here to see the field office people and look at the land and complete the files we've built up on each grower.

It's a long project, but really interesting, and now we're putting the results together.

January 25, 1973 -- Disaster today. Kem Goethe took the Coachella Valley map to the field office and was showing it around, when all of a sudden a worker who had been drinking walked up to him, snatched it out of his hands, walked out, and drove off. By the time Kem recovered himself, the guy was gone. I almost croaked when he came back to the room and told me this. (He was very shamefaced.)

Our main project for tomorrow is to get the map back. We can make another from notes (but it would take seven or eight hours), but the basic thing is not to let it fall into any growers' hands. According to what we learned, the crew at Mel-Pak, where this guy works, is kind of grower-oriented and weak. He might show it to the boss. But I think we can get it back.

Today we spent mostly at the field office in Coachella getting information on the growers to fill in what we found in the court house. Then Kem and Larry drove around with one of the organizers to look at the land and see what was grapes and what citrus, dates, asparagus, and so on.

I saw Ben Laflin again in the meantime to get more information on his operation and to verify some figures. It appears that he is losing money, but hard to tell for sure -- he's still got the land and buildings and a nice house, and his regular workers are getting $3,500 a year (@ $1.75 an hour) -- a pretty weak contract because of the breaks he got by poor-mouthing in 1970.

Tomorrow, more land checking, and I have to see Herbekian and also Laflin's accountant.

Cesar is coming in tomorrow night for a meeting with the 31 area ranch committees for the table grape negotiations, and also David. We should finish up here by Saturday (today is Thursday), with maybe some wrap-up court house work on Monday.

January 26, 1973 -- We just got finished with a seven-hour meeting with Cesar. It started at 6:00 p.m. with a three-or-four-hour session with the table grape ranch committee members from the Coachella Valley. They discussed rates at length (and wanted increases of $2.00 to $3.00 an hour and up to $6.00 in some categories). But a lot of good comments came out on work situations and differences in payments from ranch to ranch.

In the midst of this discussion, Cesar asked me if we would study the whole area and find out what rates are being paid and how they are divided at each ranch. There are all kinds of divisions and differences on how money is divided at each ranch, so we want to try to standardize things in the new contract.

Then after this meeting, we went over to Ray Huerta's house (he's the director of the Coachella field office) for a staff meeting, which ran for another three hours -- mostly with Cesar talking about all kinds of things: the Teamsters, the D'Arrigo strike, court actions back and forth, the Safeway boycott (really going well in LA, with an emphasis on such consumer issues as the fat content in hamburgers, their not giving customers the price on specials, mislabeling meat cuts (selling cow necks as ribs) and other such practices), and the Guild boycott (also going well: it's been taken out of 430 of the 500 liquor stores in the 12 largest cities in Wisconsin -- all but Green Bay, which still has it in 10 of its 22 stores, and Milwaukee, where it's gone from 240 of 260 stores). Cesar was really in a mood to talk and it was tremendously interesting.

He also mentioned that we lost our first liability suit the other day. We had a large picket line at Safeway in Hollister, and a woman driving by jerked on her brakes and got hit in the rear. She said she was distracted by the pickets and has since suffered from "dizziness and headaches" and sued for $65,000. Her lawyer had films of the pickets, showing them out on the highway waving signs in front of cars, and so on

-- really undisciplined stuff -- so we settled out of court for $1,500.

We got our map back today, after a really involved series of actions. We knew who the guy was but our people couldn't find him at the Mel-Pak labor camp last night or this morning. So since he had been drunk, someone called the jail to see if he might be there. He was. The sheriff's office had him for public drunkenness. I stayed pretty much out of the scene, since Kem felt so bad for losing the map that I wanted him to get it back himself, without my involvement.

So he and one of the organizers from the Coachella field office went to see the guy at the jail to get him to sign a release so we could get the map back. When they saw him, he was very pleasant and friendly but he wouldn't admit that he had "borrowed" the map or that he had it. So then they went to the police garage to ask if the map was in his car and if they could have it. The police said that it was there, but "no takie" without the release. So in the afternoon, Kem went back to see the guy with a tougher organizer from the office. That didn't work. But they noticed that his car was in an open police lot, with the windows rolled down. So they came back later and just took it from the car. So now everyone's happy and I'm speaking to them again.

I spent the day working on the stuff on Laflin & Laflin and Bobara Ranch and went out to see one of them for more information. Then I saw David Burciaga tonight, who was with Cesar. I still want to see Laflin tomorrow for more information.

We've been staying the last two nights at the trailer where four of the field office people live. The whole Coachella staff of seven has been really friendly and helpful to us in what we need.

Tomorrow afternoon (Saturday) we're going back to La Paz to catch up on things and then back to the court house in Riverside and down here for the rate study next Monday.

We really have to have full information on all these guys here because the contract we get here will set the tone for all the table grape contracts throughout the state later this summer, as the harvest moves up to Arvin-Lamont, Delano, and Fresno.

January 27, 1973 -- We're back in La Paz, after driving up from Coachella this afternoon. We did some more work checking the land and talking with field office people on what they know about the companies. And I did some more on dates with Laflin & Laflin and Bobara.

Almost everything I've seen in the union is so attractive, I've often thought I'd like to stay on longer. It's a very free place in a political sense and you can more or less find a place where you're doing what you like to do. And you certainly get support. The work is very hard and there are aspects which are sometimes frustrating, but it's tremendously interesting and satisfying.

January 28, 1973 -- Today I wrote a couple of reports on Laflin & Laflin and Bobara Ranch, the two date growers whose books I examined. It's really hard to tell their situation. I have to check some more things next week, but I think they're telling the truth when they say they lost money last year.

There has been much increased security here at La Paz, with several people staying up on shifts throughout the night. The union office in Terra Bella was broken into last night and the files wrecked. Cesar mentioned the other day that his son and daughter have gotten threats, and he gets constant threats of assassination, of course. More threats have been made about bombing the Delano field office again. The other afternoon, Richard Chavez's windshield was broken as he drove away from La Paz, and a couple of people have been seen around here during the night. There's a lot of concern about this, but work goes on just the same.

January 29, 1973 -- Today I finished the preliminary report on the two date

VOLUNTEER GUARD SCHEDULE

SUNDAY	12:00 am-2:00am	Jim Horgan
	2:00 am-4:00am	Fred Patch
	4:00 am-6:00am	Bill Encinas Sr.
Monday	12:00 am-2:00am	Dave Smith
	2:00 am-4:00 am	Carlos LeGerrette
	4:00 am-6:00am	Joe Hilyard
Tuesday	12:00am-2:00 am	Rosa Lopez
		John McLoughlin
	2:00 am-4:00am	Ken
	4:00 am-6:00am	Blase Bonpane
Wednesday	12:00am-2:00am	Art Torres
	2:00am-4:00am	Gonzalo
	4:00am-6:00am	Tony Geanslen
ThursdayL	12:00am-2:00am	Glen Pearcy
		Linda LeGerrette
	2:00am-4:00am	Tony Valladolid
	4:00am-6:00am	Sandy McLoughlin
		Ruben Montoya
Friday	12:00am-2:00am	Mary Jean
		Ralph Magana
	2:00am-4:00am	Gary
	4:00am-6:00am	John Gibson
STURDAY		
	12:00am-2:00am	Brad Washburn
	2:00am-4:00am	Jose Ponce
	4:00am-6:00am	Roger Torronez

All of us are important to La Paz Security. Your responsibilities are simple. Be on time and if you can't make your shift get a substitute in advance.

Thanks,

Security

growers and wrapped up some other things. We also got another car for Kem and Larry, so they came down to Riverside and I followed a few hours later.

We did a few things in the court house. We have a few more to check tomorrow and then on to Coachella to look at some land to see what's on it, and then interviews with workers at all the ranches to find out their rates in all job classifications, and how the rates and jobs are paid. I also have some more to do with Ben Laflin and Bob Herbekian.

We missed a community meeting at La Paz last week when we were away, but got the minutes with lots of interesting things.

Along with all the problems with the Teamsters and boycotts and upcoming negotiations, we now have four strikes going: D'Arrigo Brothers, which began in early December in lettuce in Calexico and Arizona, with lots of arrests and injunctions; White River Farms from last August, with most of the strikers now finishing up the Wisconsin boycott and ready to go on to Washington, D.C. for a Guild boycott there; Cochise Farms in Arizona peaches, where we still have never had a contract; and Dave Walsh strawberries (where I was doing some research), whose negotiations broke off and a strike started a week ago. No strike yet at Freshpict, where we havben't had talks since before Christmas, only because there's no work in any of their operations right now.

I hope we can finish Coachella by the end of the week, and then on to Arizona for a day or so for the four companies there.

January 30, 1973 -- I had a very good day today.

We got some tail-end things done in the court house in Riverside and I left the other two guys there (we took two cars) and came down here to Coachella to start on the things we have to do -- interview the 30 or so growers to check production and

other figures, talk with the workers at all the ranches to find the rates currently being paid in the 20-30 job categories, and check all the land we have mapped to see what's on it. Kem and Larry finished in the court court house and came down in the afternoon.

So after I got here I started making appointments to see growers. Oasis Gardens "wasn't in" when I called, but I did talk with Mike Bozick of Richard Bagdasarian, Inc. I told him I'd like to see his production records for 1972 and 1971. He was hostile, but told me to come over. I should have had one of the organizers with me, but the contract enforcer for that ranch (whose job is to deal with any problems over contract language) wasn't here, so I went by myself.

Bozick was a real son-of-a-bitch and wouldn't give me any information. I quoted a couple of clauses in the contract as reasons to see records, but he rejected them. He wouldn't give me any substantiation of figures for his production records or hours worked or kinds of grape varieties. He mentioned offhand only that he had 1,100 acres and roughly 330,000-350,000 boxes of table grapes, which we knew already. But that was good for me to experience, since I've been seeing Laflin and Herbekian, who are friendly and pleasant and easy to deal with -- but they seduce you with their friendliness and you forget where their interests lie.

After that, I asked Vicente Ponce -- one of the three contract enforcers in the seven-person Coachella UFW office -- to come along with me to start visiting workers to find out their rates. By this time, Kem and Larry had arrived, so they came, too. We checked the crops on some land we had mapped and then got information from four or five workers at the Valdora camp, and then Mel-Pak, Karahadian, Bobara, and Laflin -- visiting the labor camps where they live and talking with the people. It was eally good and informative to see them and to learn about pruning, tying, girdling, picking,

and packing -- and all the other ranches, and various ways of doing it, and all kinds of different rates (despite the fact that they're all under the same contract).

For the most part, the workers are getting only $2.00 an hour for general labor, tractor work, and irrigating -- but good piece rates of $2.00 an hour plus 25 cents a box for picking and packing, which means $25 a day or so during the harvest.

In the mid-1960s, the people were getting $1.25 an hour in this area, and when the UFW strike came the growers raised it to $1.40 an hour to hold off the union. With the 1970 UFW contract, the minimum went to $1.75 an hour and now it's $2.00. So the union has helped, but they're still low. One guy told me he worked in dates in the late 1950s as a "bracero" for 50 cents an hour.

We really learned a lot, and after the first two meetings we split up, and each of us went with one of the three organizers to cover more. So it's really interesting, and everyone (including the growers) is wondering who we are and what's going on. So that helps now to put some fear and apprehension and excitement around.

January 31, 1973 -- A less active day for me than yesterday. Kem and Larry went with the two free organizers to interview workers, and I got stuck in the office since there was no one to go out with to the camps for the wage survey. So I reviewed all our files, which are a shambles, and also worked on cost and profit figures.

This morning I called Bill Kircher in Washington, D.C., who had called La Paz yesterday and was referred to me for information on the Guild boycott. He's the director of organizing for the AFL-CIO and a good friend to the UFW. (He helped out in the 1970 negotiations in grapes.) I met him with Jim Drake at a June 1971 conference in Gainesville with County Agents on unionizing Florida agriculture.

Our Guild boycott has not been oficially sanctioned by the AFL-CIO (and thus it's difficult to get help from state labor bodies), and now the head of the Distillery

Workers Union at Guild is complaining about our boycott. So Kircher is preparing a memo for President George Meany of the AFL-CIO, and he wanted information and arguments on why the AFL-CIO should endorse the boycott. He was really interesting to talk with and, among other things, he said: "Any son-of-a-bitch (i.e., the Distillery Workers guy) who would blow the whistle on the most downtrodden, most struggling goddamn member of the family (i.e., us) is a prick." I told him some things about the company and the negotiations (he had also talked with Gilbert Padilla) and suggested he call Richard Chavez, who ran the strike. So maybe he can help us with that.

We also drove around and looked at some land for crops this evening and stopped by Laflin's (who still didn't have the information I wanted) and then hit the Indio library to check newspaper table grape prices for 1972.

So we got a lot done. Tomorrow we have a 6:00 a.m. staff meeting at the trailer here, and Ray Huerta (who runs the office) wants us to give a rundown on research.

February 1973

February 1, 1973 -- Today was a long one, but we got a lot of good things done.

We started with a meeting here at 6:00 a.m. with the seven office staff, the three of us, and a visitor from LA who's been staying in the trailer. I explained our research project, what we were doing, how to get things from the court house, and other aspects. The staff here has really helped us by showing us the ranches and leased land, and by assisting in interviewing workers. Then there was an hour's worth of staff business on seniority lists, dispatching, collecting back-dues, settling grievances, getting people for the picket line at the local Safeway, and other things like that.

Then from 8:30 in the morning to 8:00 p.m., we went over all of our files and notes and maps to see what we have and what's left to do. We had piles of random notes and scattered papers, but we got it all reasonably organized. We know what court house details we still have to check, what land we have to visit to see what crops are on it, and what ranches we still have to get more information from the organizers on. It was good to get all that out of the way.

Then we went over to the Coachella Safeway store and picketed the place for an hour with the workers. Customers were pretty cold to us, since the boycott's been on for several weeks and all the sympathetic people pretty well know about it. But it's going OK, and I even turned away a guy in Spanish: "No compre en la Safeway. Boycoteo de nuestra union de campesinos. Boycoteo de lechuga." It was pretty rough, but he got the idea and went away.

Then we all came back to the trailer, and the visiting writer from LA (Bert something) made us all mushroom omelets.

There are eight of us staying here: Hope Lopez, one of the contract enforcers;

Pamela Peterson, who runs the office; Claire, who handles dispatches of workers; Armando, another contract-language enforcer; and the four of us visiting. The other three staff (Ray Huerta, Vicente Ponce, and Manuel) live with their families. They are all really nice and friendly, with distinct personalities, so it's been very good here, and they've helped us a lot. Contacts with the workers have also been good, and we've learned all kinds of things about conditions and rates and grapes in general, as well as the growers.

After we check the land, get all the ranches, and finish up in the court house, we still have to talk with as many growers as we can, so we'll be in the Coachella Valley for most of next week, too. Then over to the four companies in Arizona, and then up to the San Joaquin Valley for the 100 growers there.

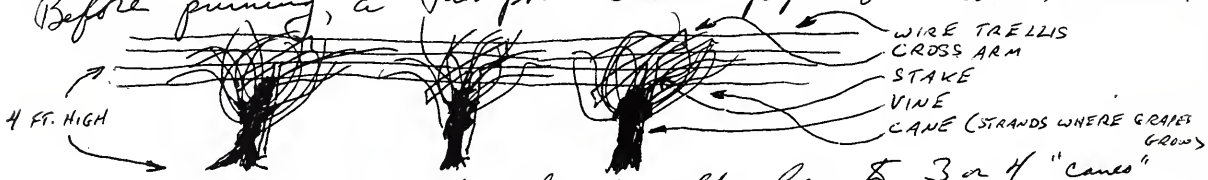
February 2, 1973 -- Today I went down to El Centro in the Imperial Valley, close to the Mexican border, with Kem Goethe, while Larry Gurel went with one of the organizers to do the wage survey. We wanted to go with the other two organizers, but they had too much of their own office business to take care of, but they said they would help us get the information on their own. So instead we went down to Imperial County to check on land ownership there and found one grape grower from Coachella with 2,000 acres of rough land that he has recently bought. And we also found 1,600 acres of Buttes Gas & Oil land, which we didn't know about, along with some transactions BGO has been making with growers in the Imperial Valley. So that's good stuff. On the way back to Coachella, we also checked on what's growing on the land (the tax assessor's office doesn't indicate the nature of the crops, so we've been driving out to look). It was so dark we had to park and walk into the field and strike a match to see what was on it -- spinach, romaine, or cauliflower greens -- not as interesting for our purposes as table grape vines).

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

Saturday - February 3, 1973

We ran into some pruners who were chopping off the dead vines from last summer & leaving the new growth for this season. And we saw some people (mostly women) tying these vines onto the trellis with little wire strips (like those on bread wrappers). It was really interesting to watch & learn about. Pruning is the right big operation after harvest & generally comes in the winter after all the leaves have fallen off so the workers can see what they're doing.

Before pruning, a Thompson Seedless grape vine looks like this:



In pruning, they trim this jumble down to 3 or 4 "canes" (these vine strands) on each side of the vine, & then in the tying operation, workers line them up along the 4 wires of the trellis & tie them there. Then comes suckering, thinning, girdling, & harvest.

We'll be in Coachella for a few more days -- checking land, finding more ranches for the map, and finishing the interviews with growers and workers.

Then I have to go up to Fremont and Salinas in the middle of all this to talk with two college research groups. I wish I didn't have to go all the way up there -- it's a drive nearly from the Mexican border to San Francisco -- since it's second-level priority and this is more important and interesting, but at least it gets the students involved in this.

February 3, 1973 -- It's only 8:00 p.m. and I'm exhausted. I spent all day driving around in the vineyards with Armando, one of the organizers, looking at the land to get new references and check our map, and talking with the workers about their wage rates.

We ran into some pruners who were chopping off the dead vines from last summer and leaving the new growth for this season. And we saw some people (mostly women) tying these vines onto the trellis with little wire strips (like those on bread wrappers). It was really interesting to watch and learn about. Pruning is the next big operation after harvest and generally comes in the winter after all the leaves have fallen off so the workers can see what they're doing.

Before pruning, a Thompson Seedless grape vine is all overgrown. In pruning, they trim this jumble down to 3 or 4 "canes" (vine strands) on each side of the vine, and then in the tying operation, workers line them up along the 4 wires of the trellis and tie them there. Then comes suckering, thinning, girdling, and harvest.

We talked with workers in the fields at the David Freedman Company (owned by Lionel Steinberg, the very first one to sign a table grape contract with us in 1970 -- he was also head of the Agriculture for McGovern Committee in Southern California -- but he is regarded as a "phoney liberal" by the office staff here), and also workers at

Lowell Weeks Ranch, Richard Peters (who's one of the guys tied in with Buttes), Marita Ranch, Oasis Gardens, Tudor, and Chuchian. The workers were helpful (at Peters Ranch, we had lunch with them at the camp), but they didn't know all the rates for their ranch, so we have to keep going back to get more.

Armando had some grievances and other problems to check, and I went along with him for them, too. We even ran into the grower at the Tudor Ranch, and he was interested in what we were doing -- in a genuine way.

At one place, when we came upon a group of women tying vines, we introduced ourselves by saying: "We're with the union." One of them answered: "Quel union, senor?" So we showed our UFW cards. Then she relaxed, and they were all willing to talk with us. There are Teamsters going around the fields, but the workers we encountered here seem to be strong "Chavistas."

Then we did a lot of driving around through the fields and got a lot of land checked, and information on acreage and grape varieties for our map of the holdings in the Coachella Valley.

February 4, 1973 -- Today we had a quick visit from Cesar. He stopped in at the trailer on his way to a Sunday fiesta in Calexico, where most of the D'Arrigo strikers are about to head east for the lettuce boycott.

I showed him our latest version of the Coachella map and told him what we've been doing. He was interested to learn that Buttes has 1,600 acres in the Imperial Valley and may be in a deal with Peters, Garabedian, and Nussbaum with 2,000 or so acres more (including some lettuce). I also told him that Larry and Kem were checking land yesterday and would tear off parts of the plants if they didn't recognize them and bring them back for the organizers to identify (spinach).

I asked Cesar for help on interviews with growers and he said he'd have a

letter for me when I'm up in La Paz on Tuesday. Then he was gone. He seemed pleased with what we've done. But we have a lot more to go here, plus all the 100 growers in the San Joaquine Valley.

I have to leave tomorrow night for the trip to Hartnell College (Salinas) and Ohlone College (Fremont) near San Francisco for the student research groups going there. I hate to take off for that long drive in the midst of our table grape project, but at least it gets them involved, even though it's relatively low priority work.

February 5, 1973 -- Today I did some more work in putting together information on the Coachella table grape growers, while Larry and Kem drove around checking land.

Then in the afternoon, I went out to talk with grower Charles Keyan of Key-Kas Vineyard -- the only one who has been really cooperative and who was willing to talk inside stuff on what's happening. He is an enormously valuable source of information. We talked for four hours, mostly about costs and profits. He calculates his profit at about $1.00 a box of table grapes in 1972 -- he made $30,000 on 28,000 lugs of grapes from his 65 acres of Thompson Seedless, Perlettes, and Cardinals. So even a small grower, which he is, can make plenty of money. And we have guys like Bagdasarian with 1,100 acres and the David Freedman Company with 1,450, plus the Delano crowd of some 28 growers, where 1,000 acres is normal.

Keyan told me all kinds of things and was full of bombastic quotes. I want to see him again on growers and what they're doing. He was very, very interesting and informative, even the things on grape culture and growing -- he really knows his business. And I can check his profit calculations against breakdowns on "costs and returns" for table grapes in general, which we have gotten from the County Agent's office.

Then I came over to a workers' meeting at the Coachella high school, where all the ranches were electing representatives to the negotiating committee and after that I drove up to La Paz.

February 6, 1973 -- I made a long round-trip drive from La Paz up to Salinas and Fremont and back.

The meeting at Hartnell College in Salinas went pretty well. I spoke at a MECHA meeting (an organization of chicano students) and about 10 or 12 of them offered to help with research on lettuce there. So then we all went over to the court house for an hour and I showed them how to use the records. It looked like a chicano sit-in -- they all were wearing buttons and roamed from office to office -- pretty disorganized, but they may be able to find some things for us.

Then I went up to Ohlone College in Fremont. It was a skimpy meeting. I spoke with only one student, who hadn't really started doing anything; then I heard a taped report made for me by another one on what he'd been doing; and the third student was sick and hadn't started either. But the Kirchners gave me a nice steak dinner (and I found out that Kathy Kirshner -- with whom I had commited a gaffe on my earlier visit -- is really 23 or 24, even though she looks 15). Alan Kirshner also xeroxed for me 150 copies of the form for the wage survey we're doing in Coachella. (We're finding that the rates are lower there than in other areas, mainly because that's where the first table grape contracts were signed in 1970.)

February 7, 1973 -- I'm back in Coachella after finally getting away from La Paz at 2:00 in the afternoon. I had to get more money (which always takes a while to get the voucher moved along up to CC, who always looks at every item carefully). And I had to mail some things to the Salinas research people. Then I wanted to see David about what we're finding in Coachella. Then I had a brief talk with Cesar. Then

Dolores also, who's leaving soon to head up the boycott in New York City, and who wanted some information on Guild and also Florida citrus rates, where we're having some problems. And I talked with a number of other people whom I hadn't seen in three or four weeks. Many of them are going out to cities on the boycott, and in fact, Boycott Central is just about closing down, with Jessica Govea, Hub Segur, the research guy, and even Marshall Ganz going out, too.

When I got down here, I started going over the files and other stuff, and tonight there was an interesting meeting of the seven field office people in the trailer. Cesar (whom I had seen a few hours earlier at La Paz) came by, too, on his way to Calexico to go out to Boston with the 60 or so D'Arrigo strikers, who are going out on the boycott. Field office director Ray Huerta had plans for a general strike of Coachella citrus, date, and other crop workers if we have to have a table grape strike, but Cesar put a stop to that talk, since we're paying $85,000 a month in strike benefits now ($32,000 to White River strikers alone) and couldn't support such a thing with strike benefits or a boycott at this point. Then more talk from him about the overall situation, which is always interesting.

February 8, 1973 -- Today we set up half a dozen appointments to see growers in the next few days and will try to get more arranged tomorrow. We're interested in as many details on acreage, box production, and other crops as we can get from them -- and I'm sure many won't cooperate. I also spoke with grower Charlie Keyan again on the phone, and he agreed to another meeting with me on Saturday (today is Thursday). I'm going to ask him for everything he knows about what all the other growers have in production, land, partnerships, and other deals. He's a good source.

Kem and Larry did more driving around checking the crops on the land we've mapped, and I went through the files summarizing what we have on each grower so far.

We also did a little more on the wage survey.

We should be more or less done by early next week, if the interviews go OK, and then we'll have to pull everything together for the reports. Then to Arizona for the four contracts there, and then up to Lamont and Delano.

February 9, 1973 -- We're still in Coachella and probably will be till the middle of next week.

Today we started several interviews with growers. I met with Henry Reider of Coachella Imperial Distributors (a shipper who harvests for 20 or so small growers), Harry Carian (one of the last hold-outs to sign with us in 1970), and Jim Gimian of Tenneco Corporation (which is probably the second-largest conglomerate we have a contract with -- #1 is United Brands and InterHarvest). All of them were fairly nice and reasonable, and while I didn't get everything I wanted from any of them, I did get acreages on all of them: 748 acres of table grapes for CID, 240 for Carian, and 583 for Tenneco, which we can use to compare with our previous estimates -- all come out pretty close. And we can calculate their profits, based on production estimates per acre. It was really interesting to meet the people we've been finding out so much about.

Kem and Larry drove around all day checking precise acreages from the map and what crops are growing in each area. They told me they put 1,100 miles on their union car in the last week just driving around looking at land (including a 250-mile round trip to the Riverside court house). I've probably put 3,000 miles on my own car in the past three weeks, with that 1,200-mile-plus round trip to Salinas-Fremont, and 250 to El Centro, and a couple back to La Paz, and driving around the Coachella Valley.

The two of them also met with the Bobara Ranch and MelPak people. One gave

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

February 10, 1973

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

The bearer of this letter, Jim Horgan, is duly authorized by me to examine employers' records in accordance with Section XV of the Collective Bargaining Agreement.

All courtesies extended him will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Cesar E. Chavez

Cesar E. Chavez,
Director

CEC/ssd

them some information, and the other was really hostile.

In the meantime, I reviewed our files again to get preliminary totals. It looks like we have accounted for most of the 7,300 acres of table grapes that are supposed to be here. Tomorrow I'm hoping to see Charlie Keyan again so I can get whatever he knows about all these 30 or so growers (50 counting the small ones with CID).

February 10, 1973 -- We just got back from the movies: Charleton Heston in "The Omega Man" and Anthony Quinn in "Flap" on the Indian protest movement. Last night, we saw James Garner in "They Only Kill Their Masters" and Omar Sharif and Jean-Paul Belmondo in "The Burglars," which has a 10-15-minute chase scene nearly as good as the one in "The French Connection."

Today I had another 4 1/2-hour session with Charlie Keyan of Key-Kas Ranches. We went through all 30 Coachella Valley table grape growers to get his estimates on acreage, production, partnerships, and deals. He's always interesting to listen to and had some things we couldn't find. He even offered to check on other things he didn't know about.

K & L were out checking more land and crops, and organizing the files. If we can see most of the growers next week, we'll be able to start putting all our stuff together for one-to-two-page summary reports on each one.

Since we've now checked everything on Richard Bagdasarian, Inc., the third-largest grower here (after David Freedman & Company and Tenneco), I went through his file and summarized a draft profile on him. According to our count, he has 1,156.14 gross acres, owned by seven or eight different people, with 908 acres producing grapes, with a production of 344,850 boxes last year, on which he made a profit of $350,000 to $400,000. He has only grapes and doesn't appear to be involved in any deals we don't know about and have already under contract. That's basically what

we are trying to find out about everyone.

In addition to these reports, we're making a chart showing wages paid in 15-20 job classifications at all the ranches, maps showing all the land holdings in different colors, and a report on costs and returns and profits.

February 11, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I just read the paper and drove around town and looked over a few files.

February 12, 1973 -- We're in Tolleson, Arizona (just outside Phoenix), after a four-hour drive from Coachella. We're staying with Gus Guttierrez, the head of the field office here. We got in at 10:30 p.m. and he spent an hour and a half filling us in on the growers here. We have only four table grape contracts -- Tenneco (which has land everywhere), James Macchiaroli, Henry Macchiaroli, and Stephen Pavich. So tomorrow I'll do the court house stuff on them, while Kem and Larry go with Gus to check the land and talk with workers about their rates. I hope we can finish in two or three days.

Before we left Coachella today, we had interviews with four growers: Bender, Waller, Karahadian, and Coachella Vineyards Company. They all went well and we got good information on acreage and production. We have more interviews on Thursday, so I'll have to go back for them while the other two finish up here.

February 13, 1973 -- I spent today in the Maricopa County Court House in Phoenix looking up details on the Macchiaroli brothers, Tenneco, and Stephen Pavich. Together they have about 1,300 acres -- about 30% of the table grapes in Arizona. We were never able to get all the growers in the 1968-1970 strike and boycott.

Larry and Kem went with Gus Guttierrez to visit the ranches, interview the workers for the wage survey, and talk with the growers on acreage and prodction. They found out some good stuff and found the people at Tenneco and Henry

Macchiaroli cooperative, both of whom are reasonable to deal with.

So we had a good day, with things going much more quickly than in Coachella because of the small number of growers with relatively uncomplicated relations.

Tonight we played cards (five of us) with Gus' two oldest daughters (in 8th grade and high school) -- a game called "Bullshit" (sometimes called "I Doubt You") and also "High-Low-Jack," which I taught them. I also did some button trades with them, and Ramona (the 8th grader) gave me a "Recall Williams -- Si Se Puede," which she had painted herself over an old button. It's been really nice staying with the Guttierrez family. We'll probably go back to Coachella tomorrow night or Thursday morning at the latest, since we have to meet with some growers there that afternoon. I wish we could stay longer to get a feel of what's happening in Arizona as we've done in Coachella.

February 14, 1973 -- It's really been nice spending the past two days with the Guttierrez's. Gus, who is in charge of UFW Arizona operations, is virtually alone to enforce the 6 or 7 contracts here (grapes and lettuce) spread all over and to run strikes like the one at Cochise Farms in Douglas (where he was arrested for trespass). He is about 38, very sharp, and interesting to talk with. Gus' wife Raquel works as an RN. Their kids are terrific: Sandy (Alexander), Ramona, Anobel, and Raquel -- all sharp, good-humored, and raised on picketing. They fight a lot but have good spirit.

We cleaned up some loose ends today. This morning Gus and the three of us went out to see James Macchiaroli, who was really hostile, saying: "Don't you guys come around here and give me your bullshit. I don't have to tell you anything." But we know almost everything about him anyway. We also looked at some of his land and then met with Jim Ratkowski, the union lawyer, to go over his files on the contracts here.

We also stopped in to see Jim Drake at the Phoenix campaign office. He's

running the Recall Jack Williams project and the Jerry Pollack campaign for governor. He has 51 people working full time. It's a separate operation from Gus and the contracts, but it is connected with the whole future of the union in Arizona. I wanted Kem and Larry to meet Drake (whom I have known since the Ohio table grape boycott in 1970 and for whom I put together Florida citrus information in 1971). And I filled him in on what we have been doing.

Then I asked Kem and Larry to go back to Coachella tonight for grower interviews tomorrow. I'll go back there myself after some court house work and a talk with the Agricultural Extension office people on costs.

February 15, 1973 -- I'm back in Coachella after cleaning up a few things in Arizona. This morning I went to the court house again and then stopped at the offices of the Agricultural Extension Agency, the Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, and the Arizona Corporation Commission to see what they had on grapes and on our four growers.

After I reached Coachella, I went to a drive-in movie: "Kidnapped," "Treasure Island," and "African Safari" (narrated by a guy who kept talking about "my Africans").

February 16, 1973 -- Today we had a few more appointments with growers, and then we went through the files to clean up loose ends and see what we have remaining to do. We're hoping to finish up tomorrow so we can get back to La Paz and start writing the reports.

Tonight eight of us are sleeping in the trailer, including five on the floor: the three of us, the three organizers living here, plus Omar, a new organizer from Lamont, and Bill Encinas from La Paz, who's in charge of the Farm Workers Fund and has come down here to harass the growers into paying the two cents a box into it -- only two-thirds of them have paid, even though it's a regulation in the contract. He's

intresting and good-humored, and he has a kind of unspoken way with growers. He even went to the high school where Ben Laflin teaches and had him called out of his classroom to yell at him for not paying the $290.00 he owes the fund for 1972.

Today the National Date Festival opened in Indio (the same thing as any county fair, but a little bigger), and we went to see it. Interesting booths and exhibits, but the same old midway with probably the same operators who do the Florida circuit.

February 17, 1973 -- Tonight we drove back to La Paz from Coachella.

We saw a few more growers today and did some summaries from the files, tied up some loose ends, and decided to come back and finish the reports early next week, since we'd done about all we can in Coachella. It's really been a tremendous experience, and we've learned a lot about grapes in general, costs, and these 30 growers, and we have a pretty good idea of the situation in the valley.

By the end of next week we hope to have a report on costs and profits, a one-or-two-page summary on each grower, a chart on wages paid in all job classifications at every ranch, and a map of the land holdings of all the Coachella growers.

February 18, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I just relaxed and in the afternoon went into Bakersfield for two Walt Disney films: "The World's Greatest Athlete" and "Now You See Him, Now You Don't."

February 19, 1973 -- Today we did some more work digesting all that stuff we found in Coachella. It's really hard to put it all together and figure out what it actually costs to grow grapes and how much profit each one made, since there are so many variables. But we finished the map of the Coachella Valley, which looks terrific, and also the chart on what workers are getting at each of the ranches -- it varies a great deal, even though they're all under the same contract.

There are lots of new faces at La Paz, and the whole staff is down to about

40-45, with many out on the boycott and Cesar away in the East.

February 20, 1973 -- More work today on condensing the files from Coachella so we can make a summary profile on each grower.

Larry and Kem went up to Fresno to talk with county extension agents there on costs for grape-growing in the San Joaquin Valley and the general scene, and also to look over the field office files to make sure we have the names of all the growers there. We'll start on them in a day or two, as soon as we finish the Coachella reports.

All those contracts expire April 14, too, plus a lot around Lamont and Poplar (about 75-80 altogether), so we have to move quickly to get it all done before the negotiations start, and then finish up with the 28 large Delano growers, whose contracts expire July 29.

But we learned a lot down south, and we should be more efficient and budget our time more carefully, so we should be able to get it done by late March (we hope).

February 21, 1973 -- I spent more time today on the reports and have only a few more drafts to go. K & L were in the court house in Bakersfield starting on the records there.

It's been really quiet at La Paz lately, with only 20 or so eating in the cafeteria (which is about the only main gathering place) and the other 20-30 in their houses with their families.

Everyone's all out on the boycott in cities across the country (or doing other projects), so we're hoping to see results on lettuce soon. We've got suits filed against both A & P and Safeway for $5-10 million (filed by citizens' and consumer groups) mostly on mislabeling meat and illegal fat content, which is a new twist added to the boycott. I ran into Hub Segur, who used to be the research guy in the central boycott office and is now working in the Los Angeles boycott. He's on a trip from LA to

COACHELLA VALLEY TABLE GRAPES

Costs -- Returns -- Profits

1. Grower who owns most of the land he operates and is not a shipper (Bobara, Laflin, Larson, Mel-Pak, Mirage, Moreno, Peters, Dewey Tudor, Tudor Ranch, Valdora, Wagner, Wallen, Weeks)

	1972					1971				
	CV Av. Yield	Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	FOB/ Box	Profit/ Box	CV Av. Yield	Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	FOB/ Box	Profit/ Box
Thompsons	370	$2248	$6.07	$7.44	$1.37	463	$2299	$4.97	$6.78	$1.81
Perlettes	430	$2703	$6.29	$7.58	$1.29	429	$2486	$5.80	$6.64	$ .84
Cardinals	465	$2350	$5.05	$6.64	$1.59	455	$2171	$4.77	$6.32	$1.55

2. Grower-shipper who owns most of the land he operates (Bagdasarian, Carian, CVC, Freedman and Travertine, Karahadian, Keyan and Key-Kas, Mouradick, Tenneco)

These growers probably save 25¢/box in costs.

Thompsons	$5.82	$7.44	$1.62	$4.72	$6.78	$2.05
Perlettes	$6.04	$7.58	$1.54	$4.55	$6.64	$1.09
Cardinals	$4.80	$6.64	$1.84	$4.52	$6.32	$1.80

3. Grower who leases most of the land he operates and is not a shipper (Beckman & Bender, Chuchian, Marita, Cervantes)

These growers probably spend 25¢/box more (after deducting savings in taxes and depreciation).

Thompsons	$6.32	$7.44	$1.12	$5.22	$6.78	$1.56
Perlettes	$6.54	$7.58	$1.04	$6.05	$6.64	$ .59
Cardinals	$5.30	$6.64	$1.34	$5.02	$6.32	$1.30

4. Manager-shipper (CID, Oasis Gardens)

These operations probably make 25¢/box on their $1.00+ commission and handling fees and another 25¢/box on their management fees, returning 50-75¢/box to their growers and profiting 50¢/box.

5. Shipper (Glass)

He probably makes a 25¢/box profit on his commission and handling fee.

JH/KG/LG
2/23/73

Vancouver, British Columbia, stopping in several Safeway stores along the way to buy meat (in front of pre-arranged witnesses) and then have it inspected and tested for fat content and false labeling of meat cuts -- as evidence for our court suits.

Cesar is still speech-making in boycott cities in the East and getting good local publicity, but he'll be back here next week for meetings with the Coachella growers, prior to the negotiations there, which will start in early March. We're trying to finish all our research business by April 1 if we can.

February 22, 1973 -- More work on the summary grower profiles and a report on growing costs and profits today.

February 23, 1973 -- I'm keyed up because I finally put together our stuff on costs and profits, and it really falls into place well. The information we got from all kinds of sources (growers, county agent cost studies, market news reports, court house research, and other things) all came together when I started making adjustments for various factors to find out costs for growing Thompson Seedless, Perlettes, and Cardinals, and what the growers got when they sold them so we could figure their profit.

Thompsons cost an average of $6.07 per box to grow and returned $7.44 for a $1.37 per box profit; Perlettes $6.29, returning $7.58 for $1.29 profit; and Cardinals $5.05, selling for $6.64 a box, for a $1.59 profit.

What it means is that the growers made plenty -- David Freedman Company had 450,000 boxes last year ($600,000 profit) and Richard Bagdasarian 350,000 ($450,000 profit) -- so we should be able to press for good contract rates with this evidence, which is the purpose of our doing the study. I was up till 1:30 a.m. typing it all up, and I feel very good about the way it turned out.

February 24, 1973 -- Today I finished the cost study and started working with K

& L on figuring out how much money would be involved in a 10-cent or 25-cent/hour raise, how much one holiday would cost the growers, what a 10-cent/hour pension plan would cost, and other things like that so we'll know where we're at in our proposals in the negotiations.

I also drafted another article for El Malcriado. It's called "Cowpies from the Growers" and is a collection of six or seven statements from various grower magazines -- the Florida Farm Bureau editorial on Cesar as "Man of the Year," some really racist and paternalistic comments from a Washington apple grower on how to deal with various groups of workers ("Send Christmas cards to your Mexican workers -- that shows you're interested in them and they'll do your harvest again next year"), plus a statement from William Spaulding, the attorney we dealt with in the InterHarvest negotiations, and a few others. Tremendous stuff -- which editor Venustiano Olguin wants to make a regular feature of the paper.

February 25, 1973 -- It's just after midnight on Sunday and I've finished typing five profiles on Coachella growers, of the 28 we'll have on them. It takes a long time to put them together, even after I've done a long-hand draft, since several figures have to be added in, especially the profit calculations from the report I did on Friday.

The David Freedman Company is the largest company in Coachella and company president Lionel Steinberg was the very first table grape grower anywhere to sign a contract with us (in 1970). From what we can figure, he made a profit of $882,164 on 489,009 22-pound boxes of grapes last year. I hope we're right on that. It has a big effect on the negotiations and what we'll try to get.

I've been reading The Disputed Barricade, a novel about industrial union organizing in the Depression.

February 26, 1973 -- Writing more grower profiles. Even with a draft already

done, it sometimes takes three or four hours to put together two pages because of the long calculations that have to be done to estimate their box production and profit.

While I've been doing this, I've been working with Kem and Larry on figuring out how much fringe benefits cost the growers, so we'll know where we're at in the negotiations. It looks like they can stand a large increase, but we want to know as much as possible about how much they can afford and what our proposals add up to -- so we might really be able to see where we're going for the very first time. But it's very hard to be sure of all our estimates.

The book The Disputed Barricade is really terrific. I'm almost done with it, reading for an hour or so after I finish the reports for the day.

February 27, 1973 -- Cesar got back yesterday from his long trip through the East, so tonight we had a meeting of the La Paz community. He went off with the 60 D'Arrigo strikers from Calexico going out to the boycott in New York, Boston, and Chicago, and on the way had all kinds of well-attended rallies (something like 1,500 in St. Louis at, I think, St. Louis University). He was really impressed with the support -- much stronger than his three-month tour in 1969 in the midst of the table grape boycott. He said he thought that student support wasn't nearly what it was in the 1960s, but that it was still good. The churches were especially strong and solid for the cause. The key issue he pushed all the way was the Monitor 4 pesticide contamination of thousands of acres of Imperial Valley lettuce, which is making big headlines in California (all kinds of shipments seized and destroyed). It was a pretty good meeting, and I gave a report on our research activities.

We've been up past midnight churning out profiles on growers, along with cost estimates and studies of our wage and fringe benefit proposals. It's really interesting work, but long and time-consuming.

Tonight I finished The Disputed Barricade by James Hulbert -- it's very good.

February 28, 1973 -- Tonight, Larry and Kem and I were invited to dinner by Mary Jean Friel and Pearl McGivney at their room in the "hospital" (which used to serve as one when La Paz was a tuberculosis sanatarium years ago). About half of the people here eat in the kitchen-cafeteria and the other half (mostly those with families) get a budget of $5.00 a week for food and cook at home. Mary Jean is Cesar's secretary (along with Susan Drake) and Pearl is head of the National Farm Worker Health Group in charge of hustling doctors and nurses and supplies for our clinics (including the new one for the Belle Glade, Florida, area). She used to be Jim Drake's assistant and was in research coordination after he left to head the Arizona campaign and before I came last summer.

Both are sisters (nuns) in their late twenties, former teachers, and working full-time for the union for the past year or so with their order's OK. They're both very spirited, energetic, and sharp.

An incident occurred recently which struck me in regard to one of the noteworthy features of the union -- things don't happen for you, you have to make them happen. If you drift along, you'll be overwhelmed. You have to be dynamic and organized and spirited and innovative to accomplish anything. We wouldn't have gotten anywhere if we hadn't organized, developed plans, capitalized on events, generated publicity, and really worked at building the union and the movement we have.

The incident involved poor old Kem Goethe today. The union car he and Larry Gurel were using in Coachella was roughed up a little driving on the bumpy roads around the grape fields (they dented the pan), so the car needed repair work. They turned it over to the La Paz mechanics last week, and when I asked them today how it was going, they told me they had heard at lunch yesterday from one of the mechanics

that after repair the car was going to be sent to Calexico for the use of one of the organizers there. So I yelled at both of them that they should have gone immediately to Al Rojas, Cesar's assistant, to find out what was happening and make sure we had a car or we couldn't do our project, which was important and had a deadline for the negotiations. Apparently they figured someone would look out for them and see that they got a car.

Mary Jean was telling me tonight that Kem had come over to the administrative office and when Al could not be found, he exlained things to her in a very shy, quiet voice. She could see the situation and she said that it was good that he came rather than me, implying that he'll get a little stronger for it.

Well, that's a small incident, and I guess at one time I was pretty shy and reluctant to be forceful, and I suppose I'm still sort of that way, but I'm really not into being overwhelmed and carried by events.

March 1973

March 1, 1973 -- Tonight I was on security again from midnight to 2:00 a.m., walking through the hospital where about 30-40 people live, watching for fires, then the trailer area (we have about 15 large house trailers, mostly for the families), and then on the third floor porch, which gives a high view of the area behind La Paz, and then driving one of the two security cars around for a while. Things have been quiet since those incidents of a few weeks ago, but everyone is always on the alert -- as they have been for years. Four or five or six people are always up throughout the night, and there are lights everywhere, including most of the offices. So this is probably one of the safest places north of San Clemente.

My article "Cowpies from the Growers" came out in El Malcriado today.

Today I almost finished the reports -- two more to go -- and K & L were busy with the charts we'll have on how much a holiday would cost the growers, how much a 20-cent raise, and so on.

March 2, 1973 -- Tonight I saw Cesar for about ten minutes to clear up the car situation. I saw him in the can for a minute this morning to get him to push and get our car back. He said it was taken away because the guys (K & L) weren't careful with it. He really has a thing about cars (it's our #1 expense, with phones #2), and it was left sort of hanging as to whether we'd get one. So I wrote him a memo this afternoon and saw him tonight about it, and he said OK but that we all should have a meeting tomorrow with the mechanics "to get a commitment out of those guys to treat the car carefully." That's a lot over a car, but he's pretty touchy about those things.

I also showed him some of the reports we had done. He asked a lot of questions and also said to be sure that one of us was there for the negotiations to argue with the growers. And he said this would be the first time we ever negotiated knowing

MEMORANDUM

To: Cesar
From: Jim Horgan
Re: A Car for the Research Department
Date: March 2,1973

I am writing to ask that you OK a car for the use of Larry Gurel and Kem Goethe of the Research Department.

It took the three of us a month to do court house research, a crop check, worker wage survey, and grower interviews on the 30 Coachella and 4 Arizona table grape growers. And there we had two cars (my own as well).

What we have left is the same thing for 100 San Joaquin table grape growers, plus 3 or 4 wine grape companies, and the rumored new plantings in Santa Maria.

When they turned their car into the garage for repair (they dented the pan driving around the fields checking what crops were on each grower's land), they learned casually at lunch a few days later that the car was being sent to Calexico. No explanation was ever made to them.

I don't like to bother you with details like this, but the project we are working on obviously has high priority. If we are to finish it in time to do any good at the negotiations, then we must have another car.

something about the growers' situation -- before, the union was always in the dark. That's a real endorsement of the value of what we are doing.

I finished the last of the Coachella grower reports tonight -- 30 in all, about 60 pages altogether, plus another 10-15 charts, cost profiles, and other studies. Now I need to go over everything and put together a summary sheet on the growers.

Also tonight I finished reading Above Suspicion by Helen MacInnes, one of those spy mysteries.

March 3, 1973 -- One of our staff members (named Bonpane) is planning to run for Congress in 1974. He ran unsuccessfully last year. Then he was in El Malcriado for a while, and then the Transportation Department, and now he's out raising money (and also finishing a Ph. D. in Latin American Studies). He used to teach at UCLA and is a very interesting person (an ex-priest, about 40 or so). He was prominent there with Angela Davis and five or six others in the anti-war movement and has also been involved with the Berrigan brothers, whom he knew in Latin America as a Maryknoll there. So he keeps up our ties to other people in the movement.

Also today, about 20 or 30 members of the Venceremos Brigade came up to La Paz from one of the universities (I think from the SF Bay area or maybe LA) to help paint and fix up the place. Some of their members have gone to Cuba to cut sugar cane and there was much comment from some of them at lunch about helping to build socialism there. They seemed too zealous for me and in a dubious cause, but maybe I've been misled by State Department propaganda.

Today I mostly finished going over the reports and papers on Coachella, and all that's left is a summary sheet on the 28 grape growers.

The first negotiating session is scheduled for Monday (today is Saturday), but we probably won't need all this material for ten days or two weeks, when the sessions

will be into the details of the economic proposals. The first few will only involve contract language.

Tonight I went to a drive-in movie in Bakersfield: "Play Misty for Me" with Clint Eastwood (very poor).

March 4, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I caught up on a lot of things in the office -- clippings, and mail, and general files -- and I read for a while: The Kingdom and the Power by Gay Talese, very interesting on the history of the New York Times.

Tomorrow I have one more chart to do and then I'm going up to Fresno, where Kem and Larry have already started on the growers and court house work there.

March 5, 1973 -- I finished up the reports on Coachella and other loose ends and drove up to Fresno this afternoon. K & L have been here since yesterday, checking land and doing the court house.

We're staying with Blanche Nosworthy, a woman of 55-60 who is active in all kinds of causes -- especially the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and also civil rights, McGovern, farm workers, and so on. She's very nice and her house is kind of a union stopping-off center for people who need a place to stay. I met her when I was here on the Proposition 22 campaign last fall with Nick and Jean Rizza. Tonight she invited us to the International Women's Day Dinner this Thursday, which her group is sponsoring.

March 6, 1973 -- Today we spent in the court house, after I went out this morning with one of the organizers from the Selma office to look at some land operated by one of the growers we have under contract -- Girazian. He claims he has only 70 acres of table grapes, but he's developing 6,000 acres of wine grapes here with non-union labor. We saw miles of grape stakes and new plantings. So I mapped it all in order to check the owners. As it turns out, he's leasing all of it and there is no court

house record tying him to it. The organizers just noticed his trucks in these fields and non-union workers paid with his checks.

Then after the court house closed, we all went over to the library to work on the files. I also went through some magazines I had brought along for more quotes from the growers for a "Cowpies" column.

Tonight I also went to the movies: "Steelyard Blues" with Donald Sutherland and Jane Fonda, and "Le Mans" with Steve McQueen.

March 7, 1973 -- Today we spent in the court house again and things are falling into place a little, but it's really much looser than Coachella and harder to get good information.

March 8, 1973 -- Tonight, after a day in the court house, we went to the International Women's Day Dinner, sponsored by the Fresno branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which Blanche Nosworthy (with whom we're staying) is president. Lots of women young and old -- about 100 altogether -- who've been active in the peace and women's movements here. The speaker, who is just back from Saigon, spoke of thousands of people who've been imprisoned by the Thieu regime, and asked people to take the name of a known prisoner and write to various public officials.

I saw David Burciaga tonight at the office in Selma on his way to a meeting of the Gallo workers north of here. I'm going back to La Paz tomorrow night to meet with him and with Cesar on Saturday (today is Thursday) to go over all our cost studies and make up a wage proposal for the Coachella negotiations.

The preliminary sessions have already been held there this week. One group of about 10-12 growers, whose labor representative is a lawyer named Al Caplan, have made it clear that they want a contract and will sign with us. Another group of 10, led

by an attorney named David Smith, have given the strong impression that they will fight us and maybe go with the Teamsters. The other group of 6 or 7 independents should be OK.

March 9, 1973 -- I'm back in La Paz after a day in the Fresno court house and the Selma field office, and a stop in Bakersfield to play some pool with David.

I got a cook book from Blanche Nosworthy, whose WILPF group published it as a fund-raising project.

March 10, 1973 -- Today I went over all our cost and wage studies with David to give him an idea of what to suggest as our opening proposal for the Coachella negotiations and how much it would cost the growers.

Then I did another "Cowpies from the Growers" column -- now a regular feature of El Malcriado.

March 11, 1973 -- I got a lot of things done today (Sunday), including my income tax.

Then David and I talked more about wage proposals for Coachella and worked out what we felt would be a realistic final settlement: $2.30 an hour for general labor, up from $2.00; picking rates of $2.30 an hour plus 30 cents a box, up from $2.00 and 25 cents a box; and pensions, unemployment insurance, and other benefits. He'll start by asking $2.70 and higher in all the other categories, but these are what we think we can really get. Tonight I typed out a memo for Cesar with all of this, plus what we estimate it would cost the growers: 67 1/2 cents more per box. They generally made a profit of $1.00 to $1.60 a box in 1972.

Then I did my second report for Bob Peterson at Saint Leo on what I've been doing here on my sabbatical leave.

I also went through some more growers' magazines looking for quotes for the

"Cowpies" column, and I read some more of John Steinbeck's In Dubious Battle.

March 12, 1973 -- I just finished In Dubious Battle -- really tremendous and better than Grapes of Wrath. Much more focus on farm worker unionization. It's all about a strike in apples in the 1930s and really powerful. It reminds me a lot about the UFW and our problems, and it's very good on characterization and the spirit of the thing. It almost reminds me of what we're about to go through in table grapes.

David and I met with Cesar for 45 minutes or so tonight and went over the proposal on wages and fringe benefits, along with some charts and other things. Even before we started talking, I could see that he looked good, with a funny smile, confident that we would be OK, in spite of all the other difficulties we've had with negotiations since last summer and all our strikes and the Teamster problem. There's a perennial optimism about him and the movement.

So when we were going through all the stuff, he asked how much it would cost them and I said 67 1/2 cents more a box (they averaged $1.00 to $1.60 in profits in 1972), and he said, "They'll never pay it." But he laughed as he said it, seeming to feel good that at least we know where we're at and have an idea of what our terms mean, as we have not had before.

We went through several other things, among them rumors that two of the bigger guys have already signed with the Teamsters. He said, "Are they really that stupid? We'd kill them with a strike."

Cesar wanted six copies of everything, so he can send the proposal around to the Board members for comment: Gilbert Padilla in Washington, D.C., Dolores Huerta in New York City, Tony Orendein in Texas, Julio Hernandez and Philip Vera Cruz in Delano, and Pete Velasco in Stockton. And he talked about what he felt we could give in on and other things for David in the negotiations.

Afterwards, David and I talked about the negotiations, and he told me he'd like me to come down starting Thursday (today is Monday) to help with the arguments. He's feeling the weight of the whole thing, so I hope I can help.

Then tonight we began cranking out letters to "The Advocates" PBS television program. They ran a debate on the pros and cons of the lettuce boycott recently and invited viewers to vote on the question by sending a letter to the program. (I missed it because I was in Fresno and didn't see a TV.) Most reaction here is that our side didn't come off very well. Dolores Huerta was good and Fr. Boyle was also a "witness," but our "advocate," a lawyer named Aragon, I think, was not very well informed and let lots of things slip, while their guy was sharp and pursuing, even though his "witnesses" (William Grami of the Teamsters and Fr. Michael Cross, the scab priest from Salinas) were not so hot. So tonight 20 of us had a spirited write-in for two hours and turned out 1,200 letters, while we will try to get supporters to sign and mail in at downdown tables in cities throughout the state. We'll be doing writing sessions all this week.

While we were writing letters tonight, Jan Van Pelt from the boycott office said, "I wish there was some phrase we could use besides 'Dear Sir.'" One of the guys said, seriously, "I think 'Sir' has pretty much lost its sexual significance." And she said, "Not to me it hasn't." It was a good laugh.

Tomorrow I have to get back to Fresno and then back here Wednesday night in order to go down to Coachella Thursday morning.

March 13, 1973 -- Today I talked some more with David Burciaga about the negotiations proposals and put together some reports for Cesar and the six Board members on costs and profits and what we think we can realistically get from the growers. One preliminary session was held last week with the Caplan growers and the Smith growers (separately) and they'll start in detail with Caplan this Thursday in

COACHELLA VALLEY TABLE GRAPE GROWERS

Grower	Grape 72 Acreage	1972 RFK Hours	1972 Production	1972 Profit	1971 Production	1972 Profit
Bagdasarian	853 (958)	230,811 hrs	379,335 bxs	$650,000	364,576 bxs	$583,332
Beckman & Bender	115	36,896 hrs	47,064 bxs	$ 51,286	63,130 bxs	$116,446
Bobara Ranch	98	24,606 hrs	29,600 bxs	$ 36,000	31,291 bxs	$ 42,000
Harry Carian	240	Incomplete	76,460 bxs	$ 44,532	63,976 bxs	$ 37,509
Chuchian Ranch	90	Incomplete	21,615 bxs	Even/Loss	30,664 bxs	$ 25,000
CID	788 (748)	181,107 hrs	264,752 bxs	$137,646	260,697 bxs	$135,174
CVC	185	79,164 hrs	71,349 bxs	$111,372	88,846 bxs	$217,566
Freedman-Travertine	974 (1048)	500,000 hrs*	451,084 bxs	$882,184	489,605 bxs	$875,000
Richard A. Glass	0	Incomplete	500,000 bxs*	$175,000	376,000 bxs*	$131,600
Karahadian & Son	400	130,925 hrs	147,747 bxs	$142,465	202,277 bxs	$343,870
Keyan, Key-Kas	60	11,541 hrs	24,670 bxs	$ 30,000	22,760 bxs	$ 2,000
Laflin and Laflin	30	Incomplete	14,500 bxs	$ 14,500*	9,299 bxs	Even/Loss*
Kelvin Keene Larson	192	58,693 hrs	47,308 bxs	Loss	72,849 bxs	$ 27,683
Marita Ranch	70	20,715 hrs	24,500 bxs	$ 22,540	19,211 bxs	Even/Loss
Mel-Pak Ranch	394	88,306 hrs	152,657 bxs	$193,874	198,848bxs	$338,042
Mirage Ranch	(54)		23,220 bxs*	Oasis		Oasis
Henry Moreno	302 (462)	Incomplete	126,800 bxs*	$160,000	Incomplete	$100,000+
Mouradick	355	115,135 hrs	154,500 bxs	$323,925	179,055 bxs	$374,853
Oasis Gardens	285 (243)	69,730 hrs	119,700 bxs	$119,700	108,426 bxs	$ 81,319
Peters-Superior	328	129,014 hrs	135,929 bxs	$175,348	100,000 bxs	$ 64,000
Six Sisters Ranch	64	Incomplete	15,850 bxs	Even/Loss	3,944 bxs	Loss
Tenneco West, Inc.	583	172,739 hrs	255,950 bxs	$479,676	182,069 bxs	$348,746
Dewey Tudor	36	Incomplete	9,890 bxs	$ 10,000	5,597 bxs	Even/Loss
Tudor Ranch	220	74,349 hrs	94,600 bxs	$122,034	66,256 bxs	$ 55,689
Vaddora Produce Co.	392 (288)	90,194 hrs	171,940 bxs	$232,119	162,276 bxs	$186,617
Wagner Ranch	136*	Incomplete	54,264 bxs	$ 72,171	60,792 bxs	$ 97,267*
Lou Wallen	74	Incomplete	30,232 bxs	$ 33,558	Blanco	
Lowell O. Weeks	61	10,508 hrs	32,819 bxs	$ 34,788	29,055 bxs	$ 17,433

* Denotes special situation (see file)

JH/KG/LG 3/3/73

Coachella.

Then I finally got away from La Paz after lunch and drove up to Hanford in Kings County (30 miles south of Fresno) to check the court house on growers who might have land there. And then up to Selma (15 miles north of there), the only one of our field offices in this area, to look for Joe Rubio, with whom I'll be staying. But since no one was around, I came up to Fresno, looking for Kem and Larry and thinking they might be here. But I couldn't find them, so I wound up in the Fresno library and then went back to Selma for the night.

March 14, 1973 -- I'm back at La Paz after spending the day in the court house in Madera, just south of Fresno.

David and I are off to Coachella tomorrow for the negotiations.

March 15, 1973 -- This afternoon, we met for four hours with Al Caplan and his group of ten or so growers, of which Lionel Steinberg (the biggest here, with 1,000 acres in the David Freedman Company), Harry Carian, and Milton Karahadian were present. Just as we started, Caplan read us a telegram he had gotten from the Teamsters claiming that they represented a majority of the workers at the companies he represents. So David told him that there was no sense in our continuing the negotiating sessions unless the growers established at the outset that we represent the workers. So Caplan and the three growers took a two-minute break and came back and said that as far as they were concerned we represented their workers, so that was that and we went ahead.

But the Teamster pressure will build, and it may have an effect on the negotiations and what we can get in tradeoffs because they're here.

At the negotiations at the El Morocco Hotel, we went through the language in the contract. They want to do away with the hiring hall (because we can't always

provide the number of workers they need). They don't want us to fine members for late dues (because, they claim, then many people refuse to come to this area to work, if they have to pay all their back dues and fines -- they go work at a non-union ranch). They don't want the grievance procedure the way it is now -- they want the right to fire workers who don't produce up to the average (they like only workers in their prime -- no old ones or young ones). They don't want to give us shipping and production records (because they say they're confidential). And they want several other points changed.

At this session, we mostly listened to them, but at the next one we'll speak up more strongly on their proposals and on our points. There are three workers on the committee with us, but they're pretty timid and don't speak up -- not like at InterHarvest last fall, where the feedback and commentary from the workers was very good.

So, it's really been interesting.

March 16, 1973 -- We began the day with a 6:00 a.m. meeting in the trailer. There were about 15 here -- the eight or nine from the Coachella staff, two organizers from the Imperial Valley (50 miles south of here) who have come up to see what's happening and give Manuel Chavez a report (he's running our organizing there), and some people from the Membership Department, who are processing members here.

The big concern is the Teamsters. They opened an office in Coachella a week or so ago -- the Western Conference of Teamsters Agricultural Organizing Committee, with four people: two chicanos and two Anglos. There was a large picket line at their office, with about 70 farm workers and lots of TV and press coverage.

The organizers here are also leafleting workers. You'd think that our workers would just tell the Teamsters to go to hell and then throw them out of the fields, but

it's not so simple. We really haven't "organized" our people, and we've let things slide over the past few years. Some of our members complain about our fines ($25.00 if they don't pay their dues on time) and some other practices, so there is some problem with complete worker solidarity here. But in general we have the support of the vast majority of workers here, so that there's no question that the Teamsters won't succeed on that level. But our people should have been better organized.

This morning we heard some of their ads on the radio in Spanish: "Come to the Teamsters -- Unemployments insurance, no fines, work where you want" (they don't have a hiring hall), and so on. Lots of propaganda, and it really makes our people hustle to get our organizing done.

The outcome will ultimately be decided on the basis of who has the people. The Teamsters are nosing around the growers and the supervisors but they're making a pitch to the workers, too. Right now we have the people, but we haven't organized them and educated them to the extent that we should have.

So I guess the Teamsters are really good for us because they make us work harder.

Today we had another session with Al Caplan and his growers. Of his ten, three were present: Lionel Steinberg of the David Freedman Company again, Milton Karahadian again, and Ralph Melikian. Steinberg is very much involved in liberal Democratic politics and was the first to sign in 1970 of all the table grape growers. He mentioned that tonight he is throwing a fund-raising party for Senator Alan Cranston. But the field office people have had many problems with him in enforcing the contract and have filed lots of grievances.

All we talked about in our three-hour session today was the Teamsters and the hiring hall. Caplan said he had gotten petitions from 2,500 workers claiming the

Teamsters represented them. We rejected this and said that of the 6,500 table grape workers here, probably only 200 would sign such a thing and the rest (if the figure is true) probably came from the unorganized Coachella vegetable workers, where supervisor coertion and threats may have been responsible. Then we talked at length about the hiring hall, which they want to abolish because it can't supply all the workers the growers need -- which is partially true. (The way it works is that the growers are not allowed under the contract to hire workers directly; they submit an order for 20 or 30 or 50 workers to the UFW hiring hall and the union then dispatches them on the basis of seniority.) But Caplan was flippant in his snide comments about its value and was running down the union in general. So we responded at length about the benefits of the hiring hall in protecting the workers from favoritism by the growers and for job security and against arbitrary actions.

No settlement yet -- just the preliminary fencing stage. It will probably be another three or four sessions before we get down to concrete agreements. We'll meet again next Friday, a week from today.

Then tonight, we had a meeting of 130 or so Coachella workers and David explained how things were going, speaking English and Spanish, with one of the Filipino workers from the committee translating into Tagalog. Then we drove back to La Paz.

March 17, 1973 -- I've just finished a two-hour negotiating session with Hub Segur of the Boycott Office. I had to give up a "Schenley Workers" button and a "Santa Maria Strike Anniversary," but I came away with a nice "From the Agri-Ghetto" with a grape bunch graphic, as well as a small "Boycott Grapes." We started when we came back from the movies in Lamont -- "Lady Sings the Blues" and "Play It Again, Sam" -- and we didn't finish until 1:30 a.m. It was a very tough session, but I did pick up one new one and now have 112 different UFW buttons.

Besides that, the main thing I did today was a report on the Coachella Valley table grape growers who are represented by labor attorney Dave Smith. There are 12 of them, and they are the ones most likely to go with the Teamsters. So Cesar wants to pressure them by having our friends in supermarkets and produce brockerages back East (amazingly, we have supporters in the food industry) call these guys up and tell them they've heard rumors of a boycott on their grapes and that they may not want to handle them. That may make them think again about the Teamsters.

Today's issue of El Malcriado ran another "Cowpies from the Growers" column.

March 18, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I caught up on a lot of letters to the three research groups we have working for us at colleges around California -- one on lettuce at Hartnell College in Salinas, another at Ohlone College in Fremont on strawberries and flowers, and the third at D. Q. University in Davis on mechanization and farm worker statistics. They're all doing some interesting things, especially the last one -- it's headed by Fr. Victor Salandini, a good friend of the union (who was involved in a controversy with his bishop over consecrating corn tortillas as Mass).

I also did a memo for Cesar on the property taxes of one of the board members, and I talked with Ben Maddock, one of the organizers from Delano, on some research things.

And I cleaned up the room and the office. A busy day.

March 19, 1973 -- Tonight I'm in Selma, about 15 miles south of Fresno, staying with Joe Rubio, who heads the only field office in this area. We used to have one in Fresno and also Dinuba, but they were closed in November to send people out on the boycott. Kem and Larry are also staying here.

The big issue here is the Teamsters, who have 9 or 10 organizers in the area. Our office staff is leafletting workers and also starting home meetings and organizing

to counter the Teamster threat. Today the Teamsters announced a contract with the Farm Labor Contractors Association -- about 400 of them statewide.

I spent a couple of hours in the Madera County court house, north of here, after driving up this afternoon. Then the car went out with a dead battery (the '64 union Valiant I'm using while my own car is being serviced), so I'll have to fix it tomorrow.

We should be here a week or two more, finishing up Madera and Tulare Counties and then more in Merced and San Joaquin Counties before we get back to Kern County (Bakersfield), near La Paz.

March 20, 1973 -- Today I spent checking into Gallo in Madera and Merced Counties. His contract expires in April so, besides all the table grape growers, we're trying to find out as much about him as we can. E. & J. Gallo Winery, the official name of the company, is the biggest wine maker in the U. S. by far. Last year, he produced 100 million gallons (the U. S. consumed 305 million gallons that year) and his profit was $35 million. Time magazine ran a very informative cover story on the company last November. Gallo is just about the best potential boycott we have (along with Coke, if it were ever necessary). The only problem is that Gallo comes up at the same time as the table grapes, so we may not have an opportunity to pressure him if things don't go well.

But we want to make Gallo the leading contract, if we can. Right now, Paul Masson and Vie Del (both wine grapes) are our best contracts -- paying $2.55 an hour for general labor, while InterHarvest 1972 lettuce is at $2.25 and the 1970 table grape contracts are now only at $2.00 an hour. It's a real diversity. But the circumstances at the time really determine what you can get.

We hear that Gallo is buying a lot more land, so we're trying to find it. Today I

TEAMSTER CONTRACTS NOT VALID

"...Those contracts signed by (the Teamsters) ...were never considered valid. It was never approved by the rank and file. When I say "rank and file" I mean all the farm workers who actually do the dirty job. I don't mean the truck drivers nor the packing shed workers. They have different kinds of contracts.

"There never was a farm worker member of the Teamsters in 1970 except Bud Antle which holds a contract with them prior to that year. I became a member of the Teamsters along with the rest as employes of Merrill Farms. We didn't sign voluntarily, in fact we stalled for awhile. But then we were told that unless we signed, we would be deprived of our employment. There was no alternative but comply.

"It was clear all this time that the Teamsters were never interested in the welfare of the farm worker. Aside from paying our dues, we never saw a union representative nor were asked to attend meetings which I am sure can give us the opportunity to discuss our grievances...."

--R. R. Nachor
149 W. Market St., Salinas
the Salinas Californian

HARRY TRUCKER WRITES BIG BROTHER FITZ

Frank Fitzsimmons
President, Teamsters Union

"Dear Big Bro. Fitz:

"I, Harry Trucker, take pen in hand to denounce your decision to renegotiate Teamster contracts with the Lettuce Growers.

"Not since Big Dave Beck broke the Boeing Strike in 1948 has any Teamster Boss been so insensitive of workers rights.

"The vast majority of Farm Workers, who are Chicanos, have expressed their preference for Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers Union-- not Frank Fitzsimmons and the Teamsters Union.

"It's bad enough us Truckers have to put up with contracts that have conditions of forced overtime, no sick leave, lousy equipment, forbids beards and no vested pensions. Ain't the Lettuce and Vegetable workers got enough problems with the Agri-Business Bums without one of your "sweetheart" contracts?

"You have been asked by Cesar Chavez and five million Chicanos to keep your cotton-picking hands off the Lettuce Pickers: so why don't you?

"Anyway, Fitz, I don't expect you'll pay any attention to me or the rest of us Truckers here in Seattle, but I'll tell ya, we're gonna support them Farm Workers until all the Scab Lettuce Rots."

"Fraternally,
"Harry Trucker,
"Local 174, Teamsters Union."

CREW-BOSS

by Katie Gordon
ULSTER COUNTY FRIENDS OF THE FARM WORKERS
Kerhonkson, N.Y.

Punk
with a gun, a swagger
Three old ladies and a mother
That he beats.
Dixie Peach
shot a man last summer, and another in the winter,
and broke bones on an ex-junkie
Who got to figgerin he was better off in Harlem...
Probly was.

Crew boss, you're a product.
Like the apples, cotton, oranges. Profiteer,
says the grower,
Overseer, foreman, Here!
Try and keep these animals in line, will you?
I'll be up at the house.

An the guns
An the two-by-fours
(An the fists'll do against the drunks an the junkies
an small guys an women)
An the knives,
You can tell a man's age, he said, by the number of scars...
An all the scare-talk about the Boss-Man, the Wench-Man an his Hench-Man, an the Man who's cut off men's ears an left sick people on the road--

It does seem to get'em out onto the fields Monday mornings.
The grower is pleased.
The crew boss gets a bonus, and is asked to be sure and come back next year.

COWPIES from the GROWERS

compiled by Jim Horgan, Research Department

The following is a collection of comments and statements from growers and their propoganda journals over the past few months

•••

A Chevron Chemical Company ad in California Farmer (October 21,1972) boasted of the benefits of Monitor 4:

"Ortho Monitor is an extremely hard-hitting no-nonsense insecticide that not only kills on contact, but is absorbed by plant tissues for prolonged protection....Monitor's positive, dependable control helps you harvest a crop free of insect damage or contamination."

•••

A.G. Salter, president of the Industry Committee on Citrus Additives and Pesticides, Inc., condemning the "emotionalism" in the public demand for pesticide regulation (California Farmer, October 7, 1972):

"No matter what we do there will always be a hazard. We cannot ride in a car, fly in a plane, walk across the street or take a bath without the risk of accident and injury or death. There is likewise risk involved with the use of pesticides, particularly at the time of application, but the risk from eating food with the amazingly limited quantities of residues legally permitted on foodstuffs is only a very minute fraction compared with the risk of everyday living."

•••

California Director of Agriculture C.B. Christiansen OKed the eating of lettuce in a statement in California Farmer (September 2 1972):

"The great majority of American people are not likely to be misled by this grossly misleading boycott of California lettuce, which is a refreshing part of just about any meal."

•••

Southern Washington apple grower George Ing issued a set of "guidelines" on farm workers in the Goodfruit Grower (April 15, 1972):

"Students have become a vital part of our labor force....Our approach is to try to get the more productive people working in our operation while they are young. If we can get a 14-year-old started thinning, we think we will have him for several years."

•••

More on child labor from George Ing in the same article:

"We also try to attract the power structure of the local school so that we will have the popular productive kids who will in turn attract others to our place. We also try to use a number of girls. This attracts boys and vice-versa. Girls are very, very good for thinning because they are meticulous and conscientious. Special problems exist. Outhouses must be frequent, clean and sturdy, particularly when girls are used."

"...THEY SIGNED A SWEETHEART CONTRACT THAT THE COURT KICKED OUT SO THEY WENT IN AND SIGNED A SUPER SWEETHEART CONTRACT. AND THE PURPOSE OF THAT CONTRACT IS TO DESTROY THE FARM WORKERS UNION. AND I JUST DON'T THINK THEY ARE GOING TO BE SUCCESSFUL. I DON'T THINK YOU WIPE OUT AN INSTITUTION THAT HAS ITS BASE IN THE DESIRE OF PEOPLE TO LIVE IN SOME OTHER CONDITION OTHER THAN ABJECT POVERTY. I DON'T THINK THESE PEOPLE ARE GOING TO BE PUSHED BACK INTO ABJECT POVERTY, WHICH WOULD BE THE RESULT OF DESTROYING THEIR UNION, AND I DON'T THINK THE TEAMSTERS ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO DESTROY THEM."

--George Meany

came across 10,000 acres of land in Merced County (owned by the Ernest and Julio Gallo Winery, Gallo Glass Company, Joseph Gallo, and even the Gallo Cattle Company), but I haven't looked at it yet to see what's on it. And I have more checking to do in the court house, too. Also, he has apples somewhere (for his Boone's Farm label), which we don't have under contract, so we're trying to find that, too.

K & L were in the Tulare County court house south of Fresno today, and we're still staying with Joe Rubio in Selma.

March 21, 1973 -- Today I was in the Merced court house again, after going up to the Livingston field office (an hour north of Fresno) to see what they had on Gallo and the other growers. I spent all day just on him and have to go back there tomorrow to check on our other growers there.

Tonight I knocked out another "Cowpies from the Growers" piece for the paper.

March 22, 1973 -- We're still in Selma. K & L are working to the south in the Tulare court house, and I've been up to the north in Merced, getting all the land ownership and transactions and making maps of their holdings.

March 23, 1973 -- The same sort of court house work: me in Madera and K & L in Tulare. Tomorrow I'm going up to our field office in Livingston to see the people there and drive around to look at Gallo's land and also the holdings of Hollis Roberts (the biggest individual grower in California and maybe anywhere -- 130,000 acres).

March 24, 1973 -- Since the court house is closed today (Saturday), I did a lot of driving around the back country, looking at land I'd mapped from court house records in order to check what crops are growing on it. It's really pretty country, isolated and quiet.

It was way up north in Merced County, near Snelling, an hour and a half from where we're staying in Selma. I was looking at Hollis Roberts' 2,000-acre ranch (all

grapes and tree crops) and Gallo's various holdings (including 800-1,000 acres of newly planted apple trees (for future Boone's Farm wine).

I even saw an otter running across the road (my favorite animal), so I stopped and looked around and saw lots of furrows and slides near a small creek. I waited for a while, with the dens in sight, but they never came out.

March 25, 1973 -- I did some work on the files today. Larry and Kem went up to La Paz yesterday to pick up supplies and get a new car and also the mail. Mostly I just laid around.

March 26, 1973 -- I was in the Fresno court house today, checking on growers and also on a dozen canneries the Teamsters have contracts with, trying to find out what growers sell to them, so maybe we can put on some pressure. K & L were in the Tulare county court house doing the same thing.

I called David in La Paz to see what was happening with the negotiations, and he told me that there've been some recent developments and we may be negotiating with all the growers at the same time, even the Delano 28, whose contracts expire on July 29. We have a meeting with them this Thursday (today is Monday). So we'll have to hurry to get information on them, which we were planning to do more slowly beginning in late April.

March 27, 1973 -- We're still in Selma doing the same sort of court house work. Tonight we watched the Oscars at Joe Rubio's house. We were impressed with Marlon Brando's action in declining the "Best Actor" award for "The Godfather" and sending Sacheen Little Feather in his place to speak about the treatment of Indians in the movies. But we were put off by Raquel Welch's comment about hoping none of the "Best Actress" nominees had any causes, and Clint Eastwood's remark about "all the cowboys who got shot in Westerns."

March 28, 1973 -- I'm back in La Paz after a day in the Fresno court house, while Kem and Larry were in Visalia. We were looking up things on the canneries the Teamsters have organized, trying to find out what grape growers sell to them, so that when these contracts expire in April the canneries don't renew them and at the same time give the Teamsters a contract for the growers they buy from. We've sent telegrams to all of the canneries saying that if they do that, we'll boycott them. So we're trying to find out who these growers are in case we have to take action.

March 29, 1973 -- It's 11:30 p.m. and we just finished a meeting which began at 10:00 a.m. this morning -- a clause-by-clause review of our proposal which will be submitted to the table grape growers tomorrow. There have been some developments in the negotiations in the past ten days. The situation now is that all of the Coachella and Lamont growers and most of the Delano and Poplar growers will be negotiating with us as a group -- about 75-80 of them (leaving 50-60 to be negotiated independently, but they may soon come in with the larger group, if the Teamsters don't get them). There were eight of us in the meeting: Cesar, David Burciaga, two of our lawyers (Jerry Cohen and Tony Gaenzlen), Nancy Kleiber (who handles our arbitration negotiations and works with David), Bob Thompson from Field Office Central, Ray Huerta from the Coachella office, and me.

It was a long session, but very interesting. The phrasing of each clause was discussed, along with anticipated arguments from the growers, our points, and what we wanted. Cesar talked at length and seemed very realistic in his approach, appreciating areas where we have been at fault and understanding growers' problems and the importance of giving them language they can live with and even benefit from, along with the protection of our essential interests. Alternate positions were also discussed, so we have an idea of what we can compromise on and go to if our first wording is

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
WAGE AND PIECE RATE DEMANDS FOR NEW CONTRACT

April 1973

Dear Member:

These are the new wage rates we are asking the growers to pay in the new contracts. Please study them. If you don't find your job classification, please contact the nearest UFW office.

In solidarity,

Cesar E. Chavez, Director

Job Classifications

General Labor: includes crown suckering, leafing, pulling leaves, thinning, turning vines, hoeing and maintaining the vines, stakes, cross-arms and wires in good condition.	2.70
Grape Picking & Packing	30¢/lug + 2.70
Vine Tying	2.75
Irrigators	2.90
Pipe Line Repair	2.90
Vine Pruning	3.00
Special Vine Pruning	3.05
Girdling - young vines	.06 per vine
medium vines	.07 per vine
old vines	.09 per vine
Budding and Grafting	5.50
Budding and Grafting (without experience)	3.50
Bud Cutter	3.00
Swamper	3¢/lug+ 2.70
Vine Trimming Machine Operator	3.30
Tractor Operator	3.30
Caterpillar Operator	3.50
Lift Operator	3.30
Busters and Sprayers	3.30
Applicator of Dangerous Chemical	5.50
Truck Driver	3.30
Shop Mechanic	3.30
Mechanic Trainee	3.15
Field Equipment Service	3.30
Frost Protection	3.75

Camp Maintenance	3.15
Cook: Harvest & Pre-harvest (day)	38.50
During pruning (day)	30.50
Asst. Cook: Harvest & Pre-Harvest (day)	33.50
During pruning (day)	25.50
Working Foreman - guaranteed/week	155.00
Asst. Working Foreman & Checker	3.30

Cold Storage:

Fork lift	3.50
Mechanic	4.00
Stripper	2.80
Janitor	2.80

Shook Shed:

Grape Boxes:

Framer	60¢/100
Cleater	40¢/100
Fork Lift	3.50
Driller	35¢/100
Shooker	25¢ & 20¢/100
Box Packers	2.80
Label Machine Operator	30¢ & 16¢/100
Saw	25¢/100

Plum Boxes:

Framer	95¢/100
Cleater	50¢/100
Shooker	50¢/100

Shed

Lift operator	3.50
Trainee (lift operator) two weeks	270.00
Loader	3.00
Trainee (Loader) two weeks	270.00
Shed Maintenance	4.00
Mechanic	4.00
Gasser	3.50
General Labor	2.70

Time and one-half is requested for time worked over 8 hours per day and 40 hours per week.

CEC/jg

objectionable. In spite of the Teamster problem, there's pretty good confidence that we will do OK.

David told me he's feeling the pressure of all of this, especially since in tomorrow's opening session he thinks Cesar will not be very vocal but will want him to present and run through our arguments. He'd feel better if Cesar were going to do it or if David were himself heading the delegation (without Cesar present). Having Cesar sitting there watching him is a lot to carry.

Today we learned that our office in Calexico was burned out last night, probably by the Teamsters. We're doing a lot of organizing there (Manuel Chavez is directing it) among the lettuce workers who are covered by the Teamster sweetheart contracts. So there is renewed consciousness on security, especially for Cesar's safety (though he shrugs it off), and particularly in light of the Delano office bombing and the many attacks on our Terra Bella office.

March 30, 1973 -- We left La Paz this morning for Palm Springs for the first session of the table grape growers' consolidated group negotiations. There were nine of us in Cesar's two station wagons -- Cesar, David, attorneys Jerry Cohen and Tony Gaenslen, me, four guards, two of Cesar's German Shepherds ("Boycott" and "Huelga"), plus Jim Drake and two Arizona people, who went down part way to give Cesar a report on the Recall Williams campaign and then took off for Arizona in their own car, which had been following.

At the table, there were 21 growers present, representing 26 from Coachella, 15-20 from Lamont, 32 from Delano, and 15-20 from Poplar -- it was the first time we ever got them together from so many areas for consolidated negotiations in grapes. The only ones missing were 40-50 from Fresno and Lodi, and a few scattered ones from other areas.

We met from 1:15 to 4:30 p.m. and presented our proposal, outlining the major changes (a new grievance procedure, a stronger successor clause, and also wages and fringe benefits, plus their making good on their delinquent payments from the past).

They then gave us their proposal (no hiring hall, no pesticide protection, no successor clause, and changes in almost every area, plus no wage proposal yet).

We didn't discuss anything of substance. Cesar told them that we had to study their proposal and report back to the workers, especially since the companies had made no counter wage proposal, when they had led him to believe that they would.

It was interesting to see who their spokesmen were -- mainly John Giumarra Jr. (the largest of the Delano growers), along with Lee Shaw of Tenneco, Inc., attorney Bill Quinlan for Hollis Roberts of the vast Roberts Farms, and Al Caplan, labor representative for 50 smaller growers.

There were 17 of us (including eight ranch committee representatives from various areas). Cesar did almost all the talking for this session. The next is set for next Wednesday. (Today is Friday.)

So after that, we made a quick trip to Coachella (the session was held at the Riviera Hotel in Palm Springs -- a real resort) and then back to La Paz.

Things look pretty good, especially since so many were there, and it went well for the opening.

March 31, 1973 -- I'm now in Selma. I drove up tonight after catching up on the mail and the files and talking with David about negotiations. We're going to try to finish up here in the next day or two and then get on with the Delano growers, so we'll have the information on their holdings and all the company names they operate under in time for the negotiations.

April 1973

April 1, 1973 -- I had a nice drive today (Sunday) all around Madera County, checking crops on the seven or eight growers we have here -- wine grapes and table grapes, peaches, citrus, plums, nectarines -- plus all kinds of other crops on land we don't have under contract -- olives and cotton -- and I saw lots of wild flowers all over.

April 2, 1973 -- Today I went down to Delano (an hour south of Selma) and talked with Ben Maddock of the field office about the 28 Delano growers so we can get working on them. Then I drove up to Fresno and stopped at the California Table Grape Commission. Like the Florida Citrus Commission, its main function is advertising and promotion. I got some figures on the whole industry -- 23,500,000 boxes of table grapes produced in 1973 -- and also a button that says "Have a Grape Day" (with a smiley face).

Then I went up to Madera to check a few things in the court house. After that I looked at some land belonging to Superior Farming Company to see what was on it. And finally I drove way the hell out 50 miles into the back country to Dos Palos to look at an isolated piece of land owned by R. J. Gallo and Mark Abedian, but couldn't get back to it because there were no public roads. But it was really pretty country with lots of marsh land and hundreds of ducks.

April 3, 1973 -- We finished the transcript of the first session of the consolidated table grape negotiations held last Friday. (Today is Tuesday.) I had taken notes and read them into Cesar's cassette tape recorder after the meeting, and his secretary Susan Drake typed them up. All we did was exchange proposals, with no discussion on substantive issues, but it's interesting to see some of the dialogue, especially who's talking for them.

I'm back in La Paz after spending the day in the Visalia court house checking on the Delano growers. Tomorrow I'll start on them in the Bakersfield (Kern County) court house. Kem and Larry are still in Selma looking at Tulare County growers' land.

April 4, 1973 -- I'm at Ray Huerta's house, where we're all staying in Coachella.

David woke me up at 6:30 this morning at La Paz to tell me he wanted me to go down to Palm Springs for the next negotiating session. So I rushed around and we made the three-hour drive on time. Cesar wants me to take notes on what's said and also be ready on profits and rates and companies and crops and anything else helpful.

We met from 11:30 a.m. to 7:30 p.m. -- 31 of them and 23 of us. Lots of action and showy talk and arguments, and we discussed a lot of substantive issues. Principally, we went through each clause of the contract. They argued their points and we ours.

Al Caplan, the labor representative, was their main spokesman, and also Johnny Giumarra for the Delano group, and Bill Quinlan from Roberts Farms. The two Tenneco people left the negotiations, probably because they felt they could get a better deal from us on their own, but they said it was because they had gotten threatening telegrams from the Teamsters, telling them to break off with us by April 6 or "face the consequences."

But it looks like almost everyone here is serious about a contract, although we're still very far apart on language and they haven't yet made a wage proposal.

It's interesting to be in on this, but I really feel like I should be finishing the research project. We still have to pull all that stuff together on the San Joaquin Valley growers, and time is growing short when we'll have to use it.

The Teamsters are still agitating -- and with the help of the growers. This morning three workers gave us a report and a deposition that when they were

dispatched to Valdora in Coachella, his supervisor told them that they'd have a job for the whole season if they signed Teamster cards. When they refused, he kicked them out. The same thing is going on all over, especially at Moreno, Giumarra, and Roberts -- Teamster organizers in the fields with company support, and some workers organizing for them on company time.

Cesar blew up about this today to the growers at the table -- the angriest I've ever seen him (lots of "bullshits" and "fucks") -- and on a few other issues, too, especially when they attacked our Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan.

April 5, 1973 -- We're back in La Paz after another session today in Palm Springs. We recessed until Monday (four days from now). It was a good session, but no agreements on any main items yet.

After the meeting there was a rally at Coachella High School with more than a thousand workers. Cesar introduced the negotiating group -- and he told the workers that I was the one who figured out all the deals with the companies and how much profit they made and how much they could afford to pay -- so now I'm a star.

Then leaflets on our wage proposal were distributed, and Cesar gave a report on the negotiations.

Lots of action by the Teamsters still going on.

April 6, 1973 -- Today I spent in the Bakersfield Tax Assessor's office looking up Giumarra. He has 8,000 acres in three companies. It took me six hours to copy down all the land references. In 1970 when he finally signed a contract with the union (a campaign in which our grape boycott action in Cincinnati was one of the decisive final actions in bringing him to the table), we didn't realize he had several companies, so we signed only with Giumarra Vineyards Corporation, and we didn't get Giumarra Brothers Fruit Company and Giumarra Farms, Inc. That's one of the main purposes of the

research we're doing -- to find out all the companies and partnerships each guy is into.

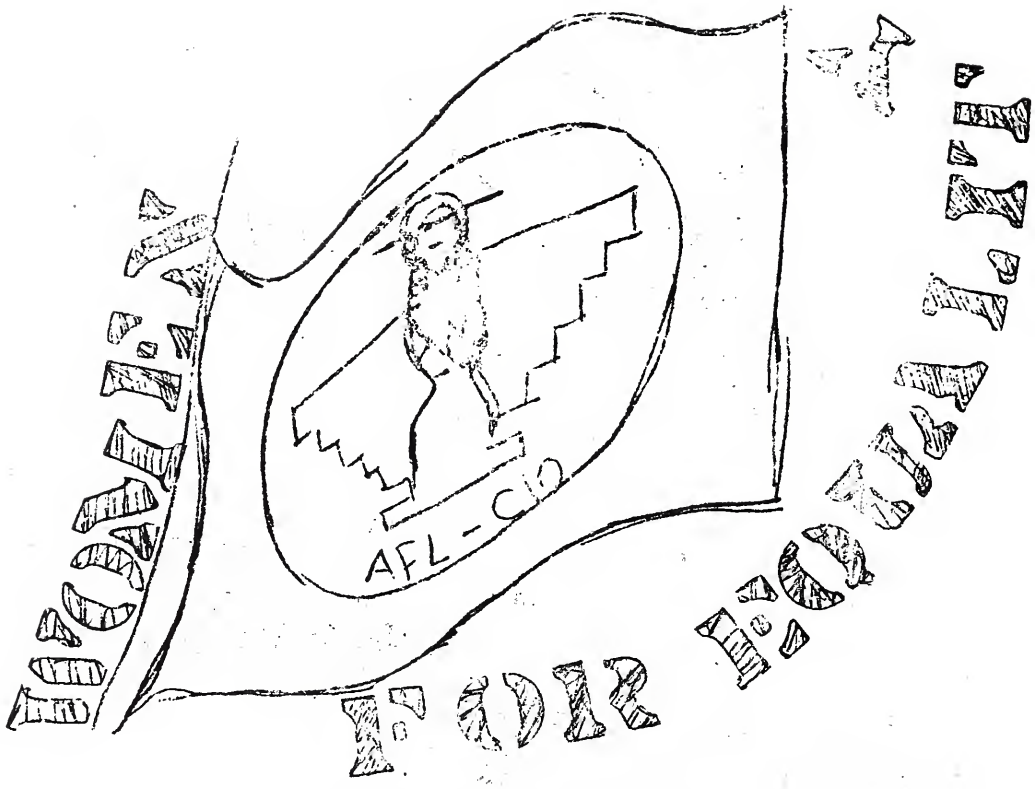
Tonight I put my notes for the last two sessions into Cesar's tape recorder so Susan Drake can type them up. They were both interesting meetings, with some progress. The rhetoric is quieting down on both sides, and we're starting to iron out specific problems each side has.

Yesterday the Coachella office put together a very effective leaflet stressing women's rights and the protection of the union hiring hall. We're trying to show the companies how strongly the workers feel about this, since one of their main positions is that they want the hiring hall done away with.

April 7, 1973 -- Today I finished putting the negotiations notes into Cesar's tape recorder and Susan started typing them up. I saw her at one point and she had done 40 pages and was only two-thirds of the way through.

Then I mapped all of Giumarra's holdings from the references I got at the Tax Assessor's office, and I also put together some things on the Guild boycott for the people in Wisconsin. They're still going strong there and having good results. Guild is putting out a massive advertising campaign to get sales up. I've even seen lots of their billboard ads for "Tavola" around the state, which they've never had before. In Wisconsin, Guild salesmen are offering a free case of wine quarts for every case of brandy fifths the liquor stores agree to put back on their shelves. So they must be losing heavily.

The next session of negotiations is Monday in Bakersfield. (Today is Saturday.) The Teamsters have really stepped up their pressure. They had 30 organizers in the fields around Arvin and Lamont today (about 20 miles from La Paz in the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley). At the Kovacevich Ranch, our workers stopped working and surrounded them, so all 30 (they travel in packs for intimidation) left the fields. But at



FARMWORKER WOMEN FOR EQUAL RIGHTS.. WhAT ABOUT US?????

WE, THE FEMALE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED FARM WORKERS UNION, PETITION DOLORES HUERTA__ LONGTIME BATTLER FOR FARMWORKING WOMEN. WE PETITION DIRECTOR CESAR CHAVEZ TO MAINTAIN THE HIRING HALL. WE DEMAND CONTINUING PROTECTION OF OUR CIVIL RIGHTS ON THE JOB.

BEFORE THE HIRING HALL WE WERE BLATANTLY DISCRIMINATED AGAINST IN THE FIELDS. AS WOMEN, WE HAD NO JOB SECURITY. WE WERE AT THE MERCEY OF PARANOID LABOR CONTRACTORS, NEUROTIC FOREMEN AND LECHEROUS SUPERVISORS. WE WORKED WHEN THEY FELT LIKE IT. THEY DECIDED WHAT WORK WE COULD HANDLE. WE WORKED FOR LESS. SUFFERED HUMILIATIONS BY COMPANY GOONS. THE HIRING HALL HAS CHANGED ALL THAT AND MORE. W E ARE NOW INCLUDED IN SENIORITY RIGHTS, EQUALITY ON THE JOB AND EQUAL BENEFITS AS OTHER MALE MEMBERS. WE WORK WITH THE PRIDE AND DIGNITY THAT COMES WITH EQUALITY. WE ARE NOT DIFFERENT. WE ARE EQUAL. WE HAVE EQUAL WORK AND EQUAL PAY. UNION BREEDS EQUALITY, ENFORCED BY THE HIRING HALL.

WE DEMAND OF THE DIRECTOR CESAR CHAVEZ AND OUR NEGOTIATING TEAM THAT THE HIRING HALL BE DEFENDED AT ALL COSTS IN THE CONTRACT. VIVA LA CAUSA FOR JUSTICE AND EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN ON THE AGRICULTURAL JOB.

WE SHALL NOT be MOVEd !!!

Giumarra in the Delano area, they signed up lots of workers with the help of the foremen and some anti-union workers, and I heard on the radio today that they presented Giumarra with a petition said to be signed by 300 of their 450 workers in that area. I'm sure we'll hear more about this from the growers on Monday.

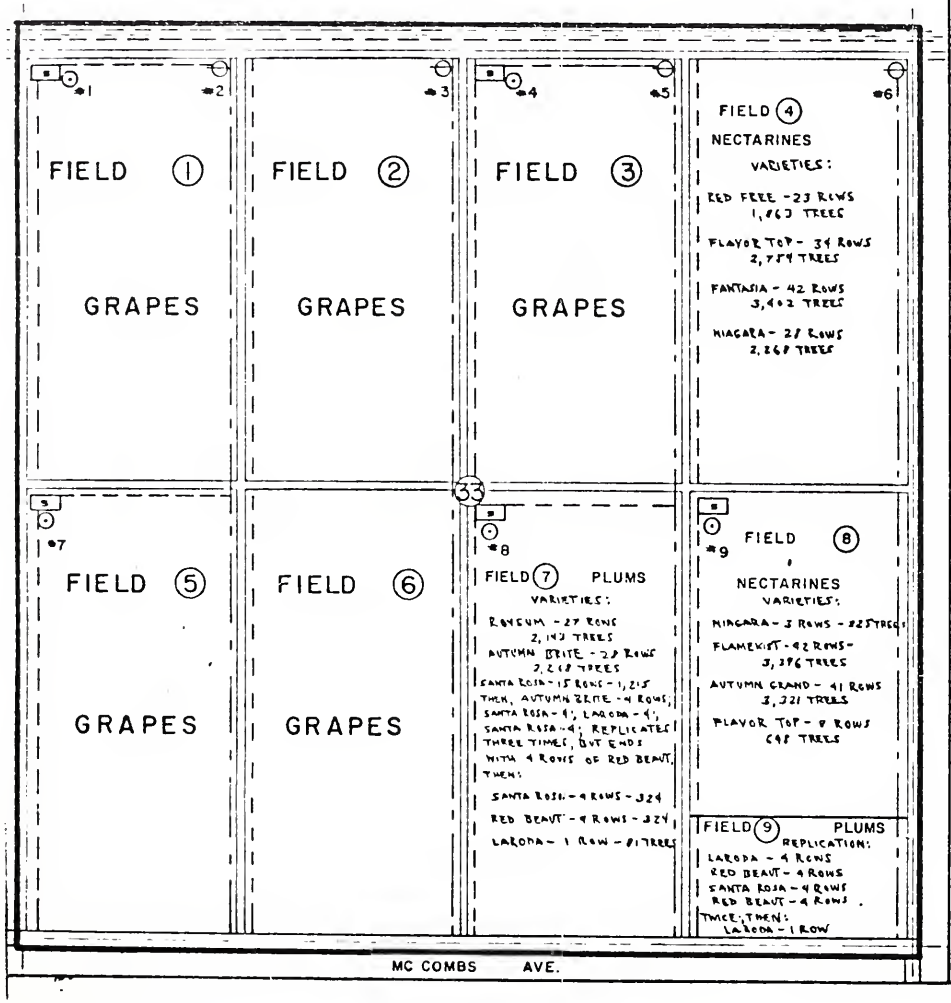
Cesar keeps telling the growers when they raise this issue: "If you want a fight, we'll fight you. Go to the Teamsters if you want. It'll cost you a hell of a lot of money." They listen. They could get a "sweetheart" deal with lower rates with the Teamsters, but the economic loss from our boycott would really damage them.

April 8, 1973 -- I got a lot done today (Sunday) -- a report for the Milwaukee boycott people on Buttes and Guild, an article for the Saint Leo student newspaper, and some things on table grape profits in the San Joaquin Valley. I even played poker for an hour and a half tonight and broke even.

April 9, 1973 -- Today we had a major coup in the research department. Quiet, shy Kem Goethe went over to Roberts Farms to interview them as a college student "doing a report." Hollis Roberts is probably the biggest grower in the world -- about 130,000 acres. Kem spent almost the whole day there and just before he left, one of the people gave him a 269-page book showing all their grapes and tree crops -- about 91,205.3 acres. It was really amazing. The maps are very detailed and show all his companies, land location, and what crops are growing in each section. So now we're adding up all the totals. None of our people in the field offices know where all Roberts' stuff is, so this will really help.

This more than offset my bad time on the road today. I got a ticket for speeding for the first time. The highway patrolman said I was doing 80 in a 65 zone (which was right) but he only wrote down 75, so I have to pay $24.00 (it would have been $43.00 for the five more miles). And he also gave me a ticket for having expired

ROBERTS FARMS, INC.



CODE 290

SECTION 33 T. 26 S, R. 25 E.

COUNTY OF KERN 640 ACRES

SCHEDULE OF INFORMATION

	FIELD NO. 1	FIELD NO. 2	FIELD NO. 3	FIELD NO. 4	FIELD NO. 5	FIELD NO. 6
NET ACRES	75.57	75.57	75.57	75.57	75.22	75.22
CROP	GRAPES	GRAPES	GRAPES	NECTARINES	GRAPES	GRAPES
ROOTSTOCK	NATURAL	NATURAL	NATURAL	NEMA-GUARD	NATURAL	NATURAL
VARIETY	GRENACHE	GRENACHE	GRENACHE	SEE MAP	GRENACHE	GRENACHE
NO. VINES OR TREES	34,293	34,293	34,293	10,277	34,132	34,132
SPACING	8x12	8x12	8x12	20x16	8x12	8x12
DATE PLANTED	1972	1972	1972	1972	1972	1972
IRRIGATION SYS	FURROW	FURROW	FURROW	FURROW	FURROW	FURROW

	FIELD NO. 7	FIELD NO. 8	FIELD NO. 9
NET ACRES	74.51	55.75	19.63
CROP	PLUMS	NECTARINES	PLUMS
ROOTSTOCK	MARIANNA	NEMA-GUARD	MARIANNA
VARIETY	SEE MAP	SEE MAP	SEE MAP
NO. TREES	10,193	7,590	2,673
SPACING	20x16	20x16	20x16
DATE PLANTED	1972	1972	1972
IRRIGATION SYS.	FURROW	FURROW	FURROW

LEGEND

- TAIL PUMP
- BOOSTER PUMP
- CONCRETE PIPELINE
- TAILWATER RETURN LINE
- SUMP
- LATERAL
- DIRT ROAD

N

plates. I've still got Florida tags. So I have to get new ones, but no fine is involved.

The negotiations in Bakersfield didn't go well today. We met for only an hour from 11:30 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., with long breaks. Dave Smith pulled his 12 Coachella growers out because of the Teamsters, and then later in the afternoon Al Caplan did the same thing with his 50. So we were left with John Giumarra, representing the Delano 32, and little 60-acre Charlie Keyan from Coachella (who had been so helpful to me with inside information when I was down there in February). Then they all said they'd have to adjourn to consult their people and call us for the next meeting.

Everything was pretty amicable during the whole time, even with the withdrawals, so we're waiting to see who will sign and who will take a strike this weekend. The contracts for most of them expire on April 14 at midnight -- this Saturday.

April 10, 1973 -- Today someone put a sign up on the administration building that this is the anniversary of the date Cesar started organizing the union -- in 1962.

It was a pretty tense day here. Jerry Cohen waited all day for the growers to call to resume negotiations, but none of them did. In the meantime, we're hearing all kinds of rumors about the Teamsters in Coachella -- meeting with the growers, intimidating our people.

I was working on the Roberts map book all day long to piece together what crops he has in all his companies.

Then late in the afternoon we got a real psychological shocker: we heard through our workers that Hollis Roberts had sold the Poso Ranch, Cal-Mission Orchards, and the old DiGiorgio Ranch to Superior Farming Company. So I counted up the acreage to see how much it is, and it looks like about 31,000 acres (four and a half times as large as the whole Coachella Valley), including 15,000 acres of grapes and

TABLE GRAPE NEGOTIATIONS — SESSION #4

Bakersfield Inn.
April 9, 1973

UNION

NAME		RANCH
Ray Olivos	UFW	POSO - Roberts
Silvestre Galvan	" "	" " - Roberts
Matilde Reyes		McFARLAND - Roberts
Peter Juarez	" "	Martin Bros. Delano
David Barraza		
[illegible]		
Jerry [illegible]		
J. Anthony Marcusen		
Jesse Mirele		Roberts Farms Terra Bella
Rosendo R. Gonzalez		Roberts Farms Arvin
Guadalupe Rangel		Roberts Farms arvin
Jim Horgan		
Ray Huerta	"	
Alfredo Negrete		KARAHADIAN RANCHS
ISIDRO ALONZO ALEMAN		FREEDMAN RANCH
JUAN ESQUIVEL		ENRIQUE MORENO
Ben S. Abad		Karahadian Ranch
Jose A Palomo		Sanger
Paul Chavez	U.F.W.	La Paz
Adam Baldwin		Poplar Calif
Richard Ybarra	UFW	

tree crops. What a blow. So now we may lose workers who've had the union for three years. It'll be much harder to get this new guy Superior than it would have been to renew Roberts. But we're ready to fight.

Tomorrow Jerry Cohen is going to call Senator Ted Kennedy's office in Washington to see if they can put pressure on Lionel Steinberg -- the largest Coachella grower and a so-called liberal Democrat who moves in the party circles -- to sign with us. So I'm putting together some stuff for them on his operation and profits.

April 11, 1973 -- We had a community meeting this morning and Cesar reviewed the whole situation for us. It looks pretty bleak and there may be a Coachella strike this weekend when the contract is up. Rumor is that the Smith growers have signed with the Teamsters.

But he reminded us how rough it was in 1965 and 1967 and 1968 and in the past. It is a constant fight -- but the boycott is our key strength.

April 12, 1973 -- I just got back to La Paz from Coachella late tonight. Cesar called me this morning and I drove down there to deliver our map of the whole valley and our reports on each grower. Things are heating up, so they'll need the map to find all the ranches for the expected strike.

We have about 25 staff people there now (including five or six from La Paz and six or seven from the Delano office). Bill Kircher, director of organizing for the entire AFL-CIO is there and is recruiting AFL people for us from other unions around the country to help out.

We had a meeting of all the staff there at 3:00 p.m., and Cesar said of me: "He knows who owns every grape in this valley." So I gave everyone a brief report on what we had learned.

Then there was much discussion about tonight's rally with the workers and plans

were set so it would be a well organized meeting.

The rally began about 6:00 p.m. in the Coachella High School auditorium. The hall was packed with 1,200 to 1,500 workers -- all but a few hundred of those working in Coachella table grapes at this stage of the season. Just beforehand, Cesar asked me to copy down for him in large print (so he could read it) some of the points he wanted to make.

Ray Huerta, head of the union's Coachella field office, made some opening remarks. Then the movie "Si Se Puede" was shown and was well received. Then Director of Organization Bill Kircher of the AFL-CIO spoke for ten minutes, expressing AFL-CIO support for its member union the UFW and the workers here, and attacking the Teamsters. Ray Huerta translated. Finally, Cesar spoke, alternating in Spanish and English. I took detailed notes on what he said, because I knew it was significant and wanted to get it all down:

"A very basic decision has to be made for the survival of our union. All of the organizers -- men and women who have been working so hard for so many years -- should be introduced. But there's no time. So let them all stand. (And they did.)

"What in the heck do the Teamsters know about farm labor! We should let them work one day so they can know. I'd like to see their organizers -- who are getting $300 a week -- do some work in the fields. (Much reaction to this.) He who is without sin, cast the first stone!

"One of the most shameful things taking place these days is the Teamsters moving from motel to motel with the growers so that they won't be picketed by the farm workers.

"If that contract comes, there will be nothing on pesticides, nothing on irresponsible mechanization -- they can throw you out and put you on welfare. That's

what the grower wants and that's what the Teamsters will give them.

"In 1965 when the movement started, people were being paid $1.00 an hour, and if you lived in a camp 95 cents, and if you worked for a labor contractor you got whatever he wanted to pay -- from 65 cents to 85 cents. It's now doubled -- $2.00 an hour, and we're saying in the new contract we must have $2.70.

"And the RFK Medical Plan. We fought with the growers for that. Especially over maternity. It started at $100 and then $300, and then Dolores and I fought -- we each have eight kids -- to get it to $500. And we're saying it should be up to $1,000 some day.

"And there should be a pension plan that works the same way, so when you get to the age when you can no longer work, you should have a pension. (Shouts of "Si Se Puede!")

"Before the union came, you remember that the foreman and the labor contractor used to fire people wholesale. If he had a headache or didn't like the way you looked, he could fire you, and he did. Now, with the union, he can't. And if you don't have job security, what do you want good wages for?

"Before the contract, there was no hiring hall -- and I admit that with the growers we have problems with the hiring hall -- but before the union, the labor contractor had all the power. He could fire you on the spot and there was no grievance procedure. And without job security, it doesn't matter how much you get, because when you get old or hurt they'll fire you, and your job is gone because you have no protection. They want 'supercampesinos.'

"You see, we have a responsibility. If you want your union, you have a responsibility to fight for it, and we have a responsibility to help you. But if you don't want your union, tell us and we'll go somewhere else and you can have the Teamsters.

Top: UFW pre-strike rally at Coachella High School, April 12, 1972.

Bottom: Bill Kircher, Cesar Chavez, Jim Horgan at UFW Coachella rally.

The Press (Riverside, California), April 13, 1973

(Shouts of "Huelga!" "Huelga!")

"In this country, there are two things you can't escape: to pay taxes and to die -- and maybe a third for us: to pay union dues. Brothers and sisters, our $3.50 (a month) dues has been that since September 30, 1962. And we always say it's been that way. Some people complain that they have to pay when they're not working. But the workers in the early days voted that way to have benefits year round. And remember that the standard dues is $10.00 and this is only a third.

"For those of you who are new to the Teamsters, let me point out a few things. They're not nice things. The Teamsters union is the most corrupt union in the history of this country. Today in the LA Times there was a story about five Teamsters sentenced to 4 1/2 years in jail for bribery. For those of you who don't know too much about the Teamsters, you might as well know it, because the fight is on.

"Their president in the 1950's went to jail for stealing money. And Jimmy Hoffa also. Beck stole $375,000. He had $85,000 in a special fund for himself for golf clubs and two aluminum boats and a house. It's all in The Enemy Within by Bobby Kennedy. (More on this, reading from the book.) Bobby Kennedy estimated that they had swindled at least $9 1/2 million -- and $3.50 is hardly enough. You'll have to pay more money if they're going to do that well.

"Brothers and sisters, why are the Teamsters here? When we got our proposal together for the new contract, we came to you for ideas. But the Teamsters go to a motel with the growers, where no farm workers are around.

"Brothers and sisters, we have a decision to make. The negotiations have terminated. The contract comes to an end Saturday. What do you want to do?" (Shouts of "Huelga! Huelga! Huelga!" "Strike! Strike! Strike!")

At this point, Cesar recognized Jose Miranda from H & M/Mar Vel, who made a

motion for a strike of all Coachella table grape workers. It was seconded by Fernando Martinez of Valdora, who spoke briefly in support. Then Cesar said: "Brother Miranda offers a motion to give me the authority to call a strike as soon as I think it's necessary after the contract expires. Are you ready to vote?" The workers responded, "Si!" Cesar: "All those in favor, rise." Literally everyone in the auditorium stood up, with shouts of "No contrato, no trabajo!" ("No contract, no work!") Cesar: "All against, be seated." No one did. Much shouting: "Si Se Puede!" ("Yes, It Can Be Done!") "No contrato, no trabajo!" "Huelga! Huelga!"

Lots of good spirit, and lots of press coverage. So there will be a strike almost surely -- maybe on Saturday (two days from now), and maybe Monday.

April 13, 1973 -- Today I spent in the court house in Bakersfield getting all the stuff on Hollis Roberts to match it against the book of maps we got from the company.

He's a really complicated big dealer. One of the places he just sold to Superior Farming Company -- the 25,000-acre Poso Ranch -- he had bought from Tenneco in February of 1972 for $26 million, and got a loan from John Hancock Life Insurance for $22 million to pay for it.

I was in the Assessor's office till 5:00 p.m. and then in the library till 9:00 p.m., looking the references up on their maps.

Then when I got back to La Paz, I heard that negotiations had re-opened in Coachella. That rally last night must have impressed them. David left for there this afternoon.

So someone may have left a message for me and I may be going down there tomorrow.

April 14, 1973 -- I got a call at La Paz at 3:30 a.m. to come down to Coachella. One of the security guards woke me up with a note from Helen Chavez

FRESNO BEE, APRIL 13, 1973

Fox And The Grapes

4/14/73

Jim Horagan
Please call Richard
Ybarra at this
number.
(714) 327-5931

Helen Chavez

(He just called.)

(Cesar's wife): "Please call Richard Ybarra at this number -- (714) 327-5931. Helen Chavez. (He just called.)" Richard is the head of Cesar's security. Cesar wanted me to come down for the negotiations. They all thought I was already there, since I had been in Coachella on Thursday, but I had gone back to La Paz that night for more research yesterday. So I rushed down for today's session. The contract expires tonight (Saturday) at midnight.

After we thought the negotiations were dead, two growers -- Lionel Steinberg and K. K. Larson (but not any of the others) -- called to re-open them. Yesterday's session dealt with contract language and went until 4:00 a.m. this morning, with agreements on virtually all issues. Today's session will focus on wages and fringe benefits.

The negotiating session opened at 11:30 a.m. at the United Methodist Church of Palm Springs. Present for the union: Cesar Chavez, David Burciaga, three UFW lawyers (Jerry Cohen, Frank Denison, Tony Gaenslen), Richard Ybarra (head of Cesar's security), four David Freedman Ranch committee members (including Isidro Aleman), and me. There were two growers: Lionel Steinberg of the David Freedman Company (the largest Coachella grower) and K. K. Larson, along with Bill Steinberg (Lionel's son), and their lawyer Jim McCormick. Later in the evening, the union group was joined by Bill Kircher of the AFL-CIO, Glen Pearcy of El Malcriado, and Tom Dalzell of the UFW legal staff. Rev. Lloyd Saatjian (K. K. Larson's minister and in whose church we were meeting) was present throughout, serving as a go-between and encouraging the parties to reach agreement.

We negotiated all day Saturday and through the night, until 4:45 a.m. Sunday morning when we reached agreement on a contract.

For me, it was the culmination of all I had been doing with the union and the

high point of my experience with the UFW. All the research information we had gathered came into play at the table and was decisive in the final settlement we won.

For the first hour, I participated by providing information from the Coachella wage survey we had taken at all the companies two months ago to clarify the various rates being paid at different companies (since there were wide differences, even though it was the same contract). We hadn't reached any agreements on wages. In the key category of "general labor," for example, we wanted $2.70 an hour; the companies were offering $2.30. For table grape picking and packing, we wanted $2.70 an hour plus 30 cents a box; they were offering $2.30 plus 25 cents a box.

Then we took a lunch break at 12:20 p.m. During the break, we discussed our wage proposals and the profits Steinberg had been making. We felt that in the next session we should push strongly on the profits the industry made and that Steinberg in particular had made. Someone also mentioned that I had a Ph.D. (in U.S. History, not Economics). Cesar decided to start calling me "Dr. Horgan" at the table -- in order to lend credibility to our figures. We resumed the negotiations at 2:00 p.m. This is from the transcript of the notes I took for the next hour and ten minutes, when we got into the economic figures:

Cesar: We think the industry can afford to pay more. We have a study on the whole Coachella Valley. Dr. Jim Horgan would like to make a statement.

Steinberg: Let me precede it. In 1967, '68, and '69, we took on debts to stay in business of over a million dollars from the federal government Land Bank, from business people. We haven't paid that back. We've made money in the last two years, but we haven't made back what was lost. What we are offering to irrigators and tractor drivers with Social Security, Workmen's Compensation, and Disability works out to $115.00 per month more each. For regular workers, it's a $75.00 a month pay raise,

going from $2.00 to $2.30 an hour, and we haven't paid back our losses.

Cesar: Before Dr. Horgan makes a statement, we want to negotiate on the facts, and we have the economic facts.

Steinberg: It's not to destroy my offer? It's to illustrate that the raise is warranted?

Horgan: First of all, we understand that you bought the Apodac Ranch last fall for something like $500,000.

Steinberg: I bought it for less than the rent.

Horgan: It's hard for us to believe that you're hurting financially when you're going out to expand like that.

Steinberg: That belonged to Valdora and now it's preserved for UFWOC.

(At this point David translated for the Ranch Committee as he had been translating throughout the morning session periodically.)

Steinberg: A few years ago there were 250 growers in this valley with 14,000 acres. It's a question of whether or not people can stay in business. We made money the last two years. But it was red ink for the previous ten years.

Larson (speaking in Spanish): I don't like to talk like somebody who's broke, but I had 20,000 boxes less in 1972 than I did in 1971.

Steinberg: And on the Apodac Ranch, I made a down payment so small, it was less than $400.00 an acre. (That figues out to $32,000 for the 80-acre ranch.)

Horgan: We know that the industry made enormous profits last year. For example, it costs you just over $6.00 a box to grow Thompsons and you sold tham last year for just around $7.50 a box. In your case we're talking about 451,000 boxes of grapes from around 1,000 acres, and your yield was so much higher than the average that you made more than $1.60 per box profit. And in the case of the Travertine

Ranch, where you have most of your Thompsons, your yield was so unusually high that you made over $2.60 a box profit.

Steinberg: I have only a very small interest in the Travertine Ranch.

Horgan: You're the President.

Steinberg: I'm only the General Manager.

Horgan: And another thing, you admit you made lots of money in 1971 and 1972 and we know you did, but it's hard for us to believe that you didn't make even more money in the previous years before the boycott. This is a chart showing Coachella FOB prices for Thompsons and Perlettes for the past seven years. Last year the average was $7.58 for Perlettes and $7.44 for Thompsons. But in 1966 you were getting $6.19 a box for Perlettes and your costs were obviously much lower. Labor, for example, was going for $1.00 an hour in those days. In 1967 you got $6.22 a box for Perlettes. In 1968 it started to fall to $5.57 and then it reached its low point with the boycott at $4.98. Thompsons went up from $3.93 in 1966 to $4.92 in 1967 to $5.32 in 1968 and then came the boycott.

Larson: What's that low point on the chart?

Horgan: $3.19 a box for Thompsons in 1969. What I'm saying is that this shows us that you had good high prices in years when costs were much lower. You made profits then, too.

Steinberg: Our company lost $500.00 an acre during the boycott in 1969 on one ranch and $700.00 an acre on the other. We've had two good years since then, but we're just paying off for our losses during the boycott.

Horgan: Obviously you lost money during the boycott but you made good profits before and since.

Steinberg: Those figures are impressive but they just don't apply to my

KELVIN KEENE LARSON

Company: K. K. Larson and his wife Patricia ("Corky") run the operation themselves. Most of the land is in their name, plus 50 acres of grapes which they lease from 4-Webb Brothers, and 31.2 acres of alfalfa on their land which they lease out. Their payroll is in the name of Desert Farms Ranches, but that is the only use of that name.

Shipper: Aristocrat Produce Company (subsidiary of Jack Carl Co., Chicago)

Labor Representative: None

Attitude: Our interview was with Mrs. Larson, who was pleasant and cooperative in providing information. K. K. Larson is also considered reasonable.

Acreage: 232.11 gross acres of land owned and leased
192 net acres of mature Perlettes
31.2 net acres of alfalfa leased out
8.91 net acres allowance for roads and buildings

Production: 1972 -- 47,308 boxes (Farm Workers Fund)
1971 -- 72,849 boxes (Farm Workers Fund)
1970 -- 63,375 boxes (Farm Workers Fund)

Yield: 1972 -- 246 boxes/acre
1971 -- 379 boxes/acre
1970 -- 330 boxes/acre

Quality: According to Mrs. Larson, they had a poor year in 1972, an excellent one in 1971, and a good one in 1970. But this seems like a reversal, since Perlettes overall were poor in 1971 and good in 1972.

Profit: 1972 -- If their yield was as low as 246, they probably lost several thousand dollars
1971 -- About $27,683

Workers, Peak and Low -- 228 in April, 3 in October

Other Crops: None (alfalfa on their land is leased out)

Subcontracted Work: Fertilizer and sulfering (by Foster-Gardner Company)

Land Ownership
Kelvin K. and Patricia A. Larson -- 182.11 gross acres
NW/4 of NW/4 of 11,6,8, except wasteway -- 31.2 ac alfalfa (leased out)
NE/4 of NW/4 of 11,6,8, except wasteway -- 32.87 ac grapes
E/2 of SW/4 of 13,6,8 -- 79.9 ac grapes
SW/4 of NW/4 of 24,6,8 -- 38.14 ac grapes
4-Webb Brothers -- 50 gross acres leased
NW/4 of SW/4 of 13,6,8 -- 50 ac

Accuracy of this Report: Generally very good, but no substantiation for low production in 1972 and consequent loss of money. No other main questions unresolved.

JH/KG/LG 2/26/73

operation. I respect Jim's interest in economics. I know something about agricultural economics, too. I take pride that President Kennedy was considering me for his Under Secretary of Agriculture.

Horgan: You acknowledge that you made money in 1971 and 1972 after the boycott. Don't you think the union had anything to do with that?

Steinberg: I'll make one good comment and one bad one. 1. Yes, the boycott was very damaging. 2. 1971 and 1972 was a very unusual combination of crop conditions in competing foods. There was very little other fruit on the market.

Cesar: I want to add something else.

Steinberg: We're raising the price of grapes so much that with such high meat costs, the housewife won't want grapes. We're pricing ourselves out of existence.

Cesar: We say one of the reasons the price went up is because of public awareness of people from the grape boycott. We spent union dues money to publicize grapes all over the place.

Larson: The grape boycott was bad for grapes.

Cesar: You got a premium price for grapes after it, and you'll get one in the future, too. When people are buying only Freedman's and Larsen's grapes, it'll be like InterHarvest lettuce. They get a premium price for theirs and you got one in 1970 when you signed.

Horgan: Wholesalers and supermarkets really want that eagle on the box and they'll pay for it.

Larson: We could go on forever. The workers need money, that's true. But the ranch does, too.

Cesar: You made $1.60 a box profit.

Steinberg: If we did, taxes took it. You know the county agent, Dean Halsey,

had a study on Thompson Seedless grapes showing a cost of around $6.50 a box.

Horgan: We have it here. It was $6.34. But we analyzed it and felt it was inaccurate in several areas. The cost for Thompsons on the average is about $6.07 a box. We felt it was inaccurate in four areas:

First of all, his study was based on a yield of 350 boxes, but the Thompson average for 1972 was 370 boxes per acre. So that means costs should be 18 cents less per box than he suggests.

Secondly, he cites harvest costs of $1.25 a box.

Steinberg: That's right. That's what it cost me.

Horgan: That means a worker produces an average of only two boxes per hour. But we've talked to the workers. It's not true. The average is more like five or six boxes per hour. So on that factor alone, costs should be about 60 cents per box less.

Thirdly, he is low on the shipping commission, and this is where costs are really higher than he suggests. He has an average FOB price of $5.50 per box but the average last year for Thompsons was $7.44, so costs should really be 17 cents more per box for that figure.

And finally, we added extra for cultural costs -- extra fertilizer and other things which will produce a higher yield. We put in an adjustment of 34 cents per box more for these additional things.

That whole thing adds up to $6.07 per box to grow Thompsons on the average and from that we can figure Perlette costs and the others, too, and that's just what it costs on the average. If yields are higher per acre than the Coachella average of 370 an acre for Thompsons and 430 an acre for Perlettes, then profits go up accordingly.

In your case on the Travertine Ranch, you had such an extraordinarily high

COACHELLA VALLEY TABLE GRAPES

Costs

Cost Items	Ext. Agency Thompsons 72 Yield=350 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	Adjusted Thompsons 72 Yield=370 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	Adjusted Perlettes 72 Yield=430 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	Adjusted Cardinals 72 Yield=465 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box
Cultural Operations	$847	$2.42	$974	$2.63	$1274	$2.97	$824	$1.77
Overhead and Taxes	$172	$ .49	$172	$ .46	$ 172	$ .40	$172	$ .37
Harvest and Shipping								
Picking and Packing	$438	$1.25	$241	$ .65	$ 280	$ .65	$349	$ .75
Hauling	$ 35	$ .10	$ 37	$ .10	$ 43	$ .10	$ 47	$ .10
Packing House, Inspection	$158	$ .45	$166	$ .45	$ 193	$ .45	$209	$ .45
Box Materials, Gassing	$228	$ .65	$241	$ .65	$ 280	$ .65	$302	$ .65
Commission (9% of FOB)	$173	$ .50	$248	$ .67	$ 292	$ .68	$278	$ .60
Equipment Depreciation, Inter.	$169	$ .48	$169	$ .46	$ 169	$ .39	$169	$ .36
Total	$2220	$6.34	$2248	$6.07	$2703	$6.29	$2350	$5.05

	Thompsons 71 Yield=463 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	Perlettes 71 Yield=429 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box	Cardinals 71 Yield=455 Cost/ Acre	Cost/ Box
Cultural Operations	$886	$1.91	$1158	$2.70	$749	$1.65
Overhead and Taxes	$156	$ .34	$ 156	$ .36	$156	$ .34
Harvest and Shipping (Pick/Pack)	$287	$ .62	$ 266	$ .62	$328	$ .72
Hauling	$ 46	$ .10	$ 43	$ .10	$ 46	$ .10
Packing House, Inspection	$195	$ .42	$ 180	$ .42	$191	$ .42
Box Materials, Gassing	$278	$ .60	$ 257	$ .60	$273	$ .60
Commission (9% of FOB)	$282	$ .61	$ 257	$ .60	$259	$ .57
Equipment Depreciation, Interest	$169	$ .37	$ 169	$ .40	$169	$ .37
Total	$2299	$4.97	$2486	$5.80	$2171	$4.77

The Extension Agency cost sheet for 1972 Thompsons was used as the starting point for these figures. It was adjusted in the four areas referred to in the memorandum: subtractions for higher yield and lower pick and pack costs, and additions for higher shipping commission, plus a 15% upward adjustment for higher cultural costs. This resulted in the Adjusted Thompsons 72 breakdown, which was used as a basis for Perlettes (which have about $300/acre higher cultural costs) and Cardinals ($150/acre lower), figuring in their differing yields as well as differing FOBs. For 1971 figures, most costs were believed to have risen about 10% in that period, so they were figured accordingly along with differing yields.

JH/KG/LG 2/23/73

yield -- an average of 518 boxes an acre, and we got these figures from your Comptroller -- you had such a high yield there -- 148 boxes per acre above the average -- that your profit was enormous: more than $2.60 per box.

Besides these cost figures, we have the Riverside County Agricultural Crop Reports for the past several years. They show average selling prices, and that was $7.44 a box for Thompsons and $7.58 for Perlettes last year.

The figures on your operation we got from your own company, and the figures on costs and returns came from the industry itself. Don't you see that it's hard for us to believe that you're not doing well when we have all this information.

Steinberg: Well, one more thing. Two years ago, Travertine returned less than $80.00 an acre. We'll all lose in a boycott.

Cesar: You'll get a premium price.

Larson: There is lots of competition already from Mexican shippers.

Steinberg: Twenty per cent of our entire operation is what they're producing now and that's at a labor cost of 25 cents an hour.

Bill Steinberg: I'm not involved in the industrial economics of my father's company, but it's not realistic to expect that the next three years will be the same as the last two.

Horgan: Demand has been increasing for the past several years. For wine, it's tremendous. The new "play wines" have really caught on, and people are buying more than ever, and growers are planting grapes all over the place.

Larson: That's wine -- not grapes.

Horgan: It goes hand-in-hand. People who are drinking more wine will also buy more grapes.

Steinberg: Let me see 1973. This is a one-year proposal. I'm projecting a very

bad year. Let's see after this one-year contract. If we have a good year, then I won't speak as strongly the next time.

Horgan: All the information we have is that profits were higher than ever in 1972 and what we hear from the industry is that 1973 will be as good or better. We've talked with people. We read the magazines. We know what the situation is.

Steinberg: It took my family 50 years to reach this point. Three generations since 1920 and we almost lost it all in two years.

Cesar: There were four generations in my family that I remember, and we worked for people like you and we didn't make a damn thing. You say it took you three generations to amass a fortune. We haven't made a damn thing. We've got the figures. Fifteen per cent -- what you're offering -- is not enough. The workers can hardly survive. We saw your situation in 1969 and didn't take that much in the first contract. We knew how the industry was then, but we know how the industry is now.

Horgan: The cost of living is going up like crazy. The annual rate is nearly 10%.

Steinberg: No, it's not that much.

Horgan: Yes it is. The rate for January was 8/10 of 1% and for February it was 7/10 of 1%. That's an annual rate of close to 10% a year, and your increases are eaten up by inflation -- and you're not even offering us the 15% raise you're claiming on the picking and packing rate.

Steinberg: Yes I am.

Cesar: No, it's only 9%. If you give me 15%, I'll be close to taking it.

Steinberg: I'm offering an increase from $2.00 plus 25 cents a box to $2.30 an hour plus 25 cents a box. That's a 15% increase.

Cesar: If you give me 15% of that I'll take it. We'll be pretty close to an agreement.

Steinberg: I've damn near done it.

Cesar: No, it's only 9%.

Steinberg: Is there a blackboard? Let me put these figures down. Here's the present rate of $2.00 plus 25 cents a box. I'm proposing $2.30 plus 25 cents a box. When you add in the additional Social Security and Workman's Comp that I'll have to pay, it comes pretty close to 15%.

Frank Denison: You can't do it that way. You're paying Social Security and Workman's Comp now.

Horgan: You can't count it in one place and not count it in the other. That's not fair.

Cesar: Jim, why don't you put your figures down there.

Horgan: OK. We're figuring a worker produces between four and five boxes an hour. I think it might be higher, but let's use 4 1/2 as the average rate. That means a worker presently gets $2.00 an hour plus $1.125 for piece rate for a total of $3.125 an hour. A 15% increase on this would mean an additional 46.875 cents. So for a 15% increase, a worker should be making $3.59375 an hour. At your proposal, he'd be making $3.425 an hour. That's 17 cents less per hour than a 15% raise.

Steinberg: I'm not saying your figures are right, but 17 cents is about 4 cents an hour at a rate of 4 1/2 boxes per hour -- the one that you're using.

Horgan: Yes, but we're saying that you're not offering us a 15% raise in this category as you're claiming.

Steinberg: But I've already proposed two cents a box for the pension, so that means we're only two cents a box apart.

Horgan: I don't think you can figure it that way. We're talking about the picking and packing rate.

Cesar: Let's go to arbitration on wages. If you can show us you're going broke, we won't ask for an increase.

(At this point -- 3:10 p.m. -- we took a break. Everyone felt we had really scored with the figures. Cesar was elated: "That was good. That's the first time we ever got a grower that way!")

We resumed and began to get closer to an agreement. We took a long evening break from 7:00 to 10:30 p.m., and when we came back, Steinberg told us he had just had dinner with Kirk Douglas.

Thereafter, we kept going until 4:45 a.m. Sunday April 15, when we reached agreement with Lionel Steinberg and K. K. Larson on a contract.

It's about the best contract in percentage increase we've ever gotten -- up 20% in some categories and worth about $250,000 more in wages and benefits to the 10-15 year-round workers and 1,800 seasonal workers at the David Freedman Company's 1,000 acres, and several thousand also to the one year-round and 300 or so seasonal workers at Larson's 200 acres.

We got $2.40 an hour on the basic general labor rate (up from $2.00 in the last contract); $2.40 an hour plus 25 cents a box for picking and packing (up from $2.00 plus 25 cents a box) -- which means maybe as much as $3.90 an hour average for harvest (at six boxes an hour); $2.50 plus housing or $2.75 an hour without for tractor drivers and irrigators; good piece rates in the other classifications; plus two cents a box pension for the first time; the medical plan and farmworkers fund as before; vacations lowered to 1,500 hours for qualification (down from 2,000 hours worked); a paid holiday for the first time; a day for Citizenship Participation Day (where workers contribute their pay on a non-work day at company expense to the union for legislative activity); unemployment insurance contingent on the Teamsters, in that if they get it in

their contracts, we get it, too; and duration for only one year, so we can come back with a comparable increase in 1974 (but had it been for two or three years, the increases would have been much less). It's a tremendous contract, and Cesar was really pleased.

April 15, 1973 -- I went to sleep on Ray Huerta's living room floor at 5:30 a.m. this morning and woke up at 10:00 a.m. in the middle of a meeting going on around me as I slept. The main issue was planning for the strike against the other Coachella growers. Cesar was telling everyone about the negotiations and contract.

It was very hectic today, mainly on organizing for the strike tomorrow (Monday) -- housing and feeding the strikers, coordination of benefit payments -- since the contracts for all the Coachella growers expired at midnight last night, with only two renewing.

We heard at noon that the Teamsters announced that they had signed 85% of the growers in the Coachella Valley (no names were given, so it may be phoney) for a four-year contract for $2.30 an hour, plus $2.41 in 1974, $2.54 in 1975, and $2.70 in 1976. We really beat them.

In the afternoon, I played with Cesar's two German Shepherds for a while and took some photos of them -- "Boycott" and "Huelga."

Then there was a Mass (with Fr. Victor Salandini) and a meeting in the park for the workers -- mainly the 300 volunteers from Salinas, who've come down to help with the strike.

Then we reviewed the Steinberg-Larson contract, got it typed and xeroxed at the Thrifty Drug Store in Indio, and got set for the signing Monday morning with Lionel Steinberg and K. K. Larson, and maybe Charles Keyan (who had called Steinberg during the final stages of the negotiations early this morning). No others from Coachella could

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UFW Strikes Growers For Teamsters Signing

By George L. Baker
Fresno Bee Staff Writer

INDIO — The United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO, today began striking table-grape growers who signed labor contracts early yesterday with the Teamsters Union covering 5,500 workers formerly under UFW contracts.

Pickets began appearing at numerous ranches in the Coachella Valley this morning, and a group of striking workers persuaded 25 farm workers in one field to leave the vineyard, at least temporarily.

The Teamsters contracts were signed yesterday morning, a few hours after UFW contracts expired at midnight Saturday.

"We feel this far exceeds anything in the industry," said Teamsters organizer Ray Cotner, in announcing the terms of the contracts which were effective yesterday.

However, two growers who account for 15 per cent of the production here announced they had reached agreements with the UFW for new contracts.

The Teamsters' contracts were the first serious inroads made by the union as it began a step up its organizing activities among California farmworkers, setting the two unions on a collision course.

Cotner said the contracts four-year contracts call for a general wage rate of $2.30 an hour, 30 cents more than the rate specified in the just-expired UFW contracts, unemployment compensation, helth and medical benefits and an employer-funded pension plan.

He declined to show newsmen copies of the contracts and would not name the growers who agreed to them but one of them is believed to be Heggblade - Marguleas - Tenneco, Inc., the Kern County farming giant that has wide intrests in the grape industry.

By the end of the contract termination on April 14, 1977, Cotner said, the basic field rate will be $2.70 an hour plus a bonus of 26 cents a box for harvest labor.

Cesar Chavez, UFW director, denounced the pacts at a rally later in the day, where he said the UFW would call strikes against the Teamsters-oriented farmers.

"It's not a contract, it's a marriage license," Chavez told 500 farmworkers in Coachella. "Tomorrow (Monday) the growers and the Teamsters will be skipping hand and hand into the fields on their honeymoon."

Chavez contends the growers and Teamsters are working in collusion in an effort to put the UFW out of business, but he said the farmworkers union will continue to strike and boycott and will eventually win.

One of the growers who signed with the UFW was Lionel Steinberg, a former Fresnan and the second largest grower in the Coachella Valley. He was the state's first table-

See Growers Page A1

Growers: Strike By UFW

Continued from Page A1

grape grower to sign with the UFW three years ago. Details of the contract, which still must be ratified by the farmworkers, were not disclosed, but an attorney for the two growers, said the wage and fringe benefit package will "be competitive" with the Teamsters contracts.

The agreements between the UFW and growers were announced by James McDaniel, a Pomona attorney, but UFW officials denied any contracts had been signd.

Throughout the negotiations in recent weeks, the Teamsters have hinted that any grower who signed with UFW would have to face Teamster "economic action" in the trucking, packing and terminal warehouse business where they are the predominant union.

This thinly veiled threat of secondary boycotts and other pressures were assailed by Chevez. He said such actions might be the sjubject of a congressional investigation, and told newsmen he had received a telegram yesterday from Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., stating the question of "illegal union activities," prohibited by federal law, "could be the subject of a congressional investigation."

A prime difference in the Teamsters and UFW contracts is the approach taken for the recruitment of labor. The Teamsters contracts contain no provisions for union hiring halls and permit growers to use labor contractors as a source of farmworkers. The UFW agreements retain the hiring hall principle, which Chavez maintains is needed to lessen grower exploitation of workers and to put farm labor contractors out of work.

The Teamsters already have signed a master contract with the National Farm Labor Contractors Association of Fresno which compels workers employed by contractors who are part of the agreement to become Teamsters members.

David Smith, an attorney for most of the growers who signed with the Teamsters, said they had no choice but to negotiate with them because the union had solicited the support of the majority of the workers.

"We have done the best we could to comply with the wishes of the workers when we recognized these petitions," he said.

There was nothing secret about the Teamsters organizing drive, which began in January, he said, and produced the signatures of about 4,000 workers stating they did not want representation by the UFW and preferred the Teamsters as their bargaining representative.

Denies Collusion

"Given every bit of information that was available, they (the UFW) were aware the petitions were being circulated, yet they did not respond to them. I fail to see how this adds up objectively to a charge of collusion, he said. "Chavez has charged that the petitions' signatures are a fraud and were often obtained by field supervisors coercing workers in the presence of Teamsters organizers.

Smith denied the contracts are "sweetheart agreements" as Chavez has charged.

"The Teamsters are always tough bargainers," he replied when asked how negotiations went. "I wouldn't say everything went smoothly either in the negotiations or the digestion."

Teamsters officials could not say how much the contracts will cost each grower over the expired UFW agreements, but did say it would be considerable.

According to terms of the pacts, the growers must pay the 4½ per cent state unemployment compensation tax, 10 cents an hour per employe into the pension fund and an unspecified amount for a medical plan for which workers are eligible after 80 hours of work in one month.

Suits Expected

In addition to the strike activity, a flurry of lawsuits against the Teamsters contracts is expected based on the alleged "sweetheart" aspects and other legal intricacies.

Cotner said that with 90 per cent of the workers under contract here accounting for 85 per cent of the 7,800 acres of grapes, Teamsters organizers are moving into the vineyards of the Arvin and Delano areas in the Southern San Joaquin Valley for a similar organizing push there.

Chavez' tactics differ somewhat from those employed as recently as the White Rivers Farm strike last October where he called for a mass walkout by workers.

Instead, he told workers they should go to the fields today and that they should walk out when UFW organizers approach them with a letter signed by him (Chavez).

"We know that strikes are good," he said. "They're legal, they're moral and they're right. When you strike, that's the only way to liberate yourself."

Smith said the UFW tactics were "interesting," and added, "It will be interesting to see the relative strength of the worker. What happens if Chavez calls a strike and the work goes on.

"I think his position has weakened to the point that maybe the claim of collusion is not true."

be reached by Steinberg, who was trying to line them up, so maybe they've all gone with the Teamsters.

Then I drove up to La Paz and got here at 2:00 a.m. David and I are going to see John J. Kovacevich, the most influential Arvin grower (his photo was in the Time cover story on the meat boycott last week) to try and get him to sign. He's the key to the San Joaquin Valley.

April 16, 1973 -- Steinberg and Larson signed their contracts this morning. They represent 18.5% of the Coachella Valley's 2,877,600 boxes of table grapes produced last year.

The Teamsters are claiming 85% of the production under them, so already it's exaggerated somewhat -- but they may have all the other 56 growers.

The Coachella strike started this morning. About 80% of the 2,000 or so workers at the "Teamster ranches" walked out, so clearly we have the workers.

We had a meeting this morning in Arvin with John J. Kovacevich, one of the largest growers there. In phone calls to him yesterday from Coachella, he led us to believe that he wanted to negotiate and sign today. But when David and I and the local field office director and a ranch committee member met with him this morning, he said he was just a "messenger boy" for the other growers in the area and that they wanted our proposal to study. This seemed to be a trap (so they could give the same money to the Teamsters -- they don't have the details of our Steinberg-Larson contract yet), so David didn't give him the contract.

I spent the rest of the day messing around with getting a California license plate for my car. I've been so wrapped up with everything that I didn't get a chance to take care of it. I'll have to pay $113.00 for it (including late penalties from last July, when I got here), plus a smog certificate ($10.00 for the test and extra for any needed

parts).

But I was able to put the Hollis Roberts holdings on the map, and it looks impressive.

April 17, 1973 -- Today I got some reports done, including a contract comparison between us and the Teamsters. We beat them in every category except pensions.

Tonight we had a community meeting for the 35 or so people left at La Paz. David and I gave a report on the negotiations for more than an hour, and I reviewed the comparisons in contracts.

For the grape boycott, we're stressing how much more we got than the Teamsters, but for the other growers we're talking with in the San Joaquin Valley, we're stressing how close the two are in money.

The strike is still going very well, but the growers are getting injunctions and have arrested 33 of our people, mostly for tresspass.

Cesar is in Washington today for a press conference revealing evidence of Teamster payoffs by Salinas lettuce growers and an upcoming statement by AFL-CIO President George Meany in support of our strike and boycott.

April 18, 1973 -- Today David and I went to talk with John J. Kovacevich again, the most influential of the Arvin-Lamont growers (and located about 20 miles from La Paz in the lower end of the San Joaquin Valley). It doesn't look very good.

This morning at 6:30 a.m., we sent Larry and Kem to the Top's Coffee Shop in Lamont, where most of the growers regularly have breakfast. They listened for more than an hour -- lots of hostile talk about the strike and problems with the contract and friendly talk about the Teamster rates as being "negotiable."

With Kovacevich, we showed him the Steinberg-Larson contract. He took notes

UFW AND TEAMSTER CONTRACTS -- COACHELLA VALLEY TABLE GRAPES

Classification	UFW	Added Cost/Box	Teamsters	Added Cost/Box
General Labor	$2.40	16.80¢	$2.30	12.60¢
Grape Picking & Packing	$2.40 + 25¢/box	10.00¢	$2.30 + 25¢/box	7.50¢
Bonus - Cardinal Grapes	$2.40 + 35¢/box	2.00¢	$2.30 + 35¢/b probably (if it were paid before)	0
Vine Tying	5¢/vine	2.50¢	15% increase	1.90¢
Girdling	5¢/vine	2.50¢	15% increase	1.90¢
Tractor Driver	$2.75 or $2.50 + specials	2.00¢	30% increase	2.00¢
Irrigator	$2.75 or $2.50 + specials	2.50¢	$2.30	1.75¢
Trailer Swamper	$2.40 + 1¢/box	.50¢	Probably 15% increase	.35¢
Shop Maintenance Man	20% increase	.25¢	Probably 15% increase	.20¢
Working Foreman	20% increase	.50¢	Probably 15% increase	.40¢
Asst. Working Foreman	20% increase	.25¢	Probably 15% increase	.20¢
Cook	20% increase	.25¢	Probably 15% increase	.20¢
Medical Plan	10¢/hour	0	Probably 10¢/hour	0
Martin Luther King Fund	2¢/box	0	Dropped	2.00¢ less
Pension	2¢/box	2.00¢	10¢/hour	10.00¢
Unemployment Insurance	3.9% of payroll	7.00¢	3.9% of payroll	7.00¢
Vacations	1500 hours	.25¢	2000 hours	0
Holidays	Washington's Birth.	1.30¢	None	0
Citizenship Participation	Memorial Day	3.25¢	None	0
Hours of Work	50¢ after 9 or 54	0	None	0
Totals		53.85¢		44.05¢

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from it and said he would tell the other growers and contact Al Caplan, his labor representative, who'd get in touch with us. They may all go with the Teamsters up here.

The strike in Coachella is heating up -- injunctions against the pickets and 80 or more arrests yesterday. There's no strike up here in the San Joaquin Valley yet, but the workers are talking it up.

I spent the rest of the day in the court house getting more stuff on Roberts and tonight putting it on the map, and also recording the notes from the Steinberg-Larson negotiations so Susan Drake can type them up.

April 19, 1973 -- I spent the day in the court house in Bakersfield again on Roberts Farms and Tenneco, getting the Tax Assessor references and putting the holdings on the map.

I asked Kem and Larry to go up to Fresno, King City, and Stockton to finish the reports on the growers there, so they'll be back in three days or so.

David went up to Fresno to meet with D'Arrigo about their grape contract. We're striking and boycotting their lettuce but we may be able to get their grapes renewed.

Tomorrow he meets with Mel Finerman in Los Angeles. He's the only other lettuce grower we have under contract (besides InterHarvest). It expires May 5.

Things are going the same with the Coachella strike. We're getting our news pretty much from the newspapers, since everyone's too busy to call us with reports. More arrests but the workers are pretty well staying out.

We sent two more people down to the Top's Coffee Shop to listen in on the Lamont growers, but they were discovered -- maybe by their union look or their car (the standard old white Plymouth) or by their strangeness in a hangout for regulars.

The growers wouldn't say anything while they were there and stepped outside to talk to each other.

It looks like they're doing to us with the Teamsters what they failed to do with Proposition 22.

I finally got a chance to send off three rolls of film for development -- some from months ago and some from last week in Coachella.

April 20, 1973 -- All day in the court house and library again on Roberts and Tenneco. Both of them are so big that it really takes a long time to copy down all the land references.

More arrests in Coachella yesterday and today -- more than 200 people, including Cesar's daughter Berlinda, Freddie Chavez, Richard's daughter, three AFL-CIO organizers, and several ministers from Los Angeles -- mostly for tresspass.

Our contract with Gallo expired yesterday and we're vaguely in negotiations with him -- but he won't extend the contract (as is the usual case while talks continue). They're all playing with us.

April 21, 1973 -- Eliseo Medina came up to La Paz briefly this morning and told us what was happening in Coachella. It's still holding out pretty well at all the ranches. All of the arrests (300 or so) have been dismissed because of improper injunctions. Eliseo said he is going to Ohio to take over the boycott there. John Bank, who's been running things from Cincinnati (and who got me involved with the union with the grape boycott there in 1970) may be moving elsewhere.

I spent the day in the library looking up Tenneco and was able to put part of it on the map. It's really enormous: more than 100,000 acres in one piece just west of Bakersfield -- probably mostly cotton and cattle.

Then I went over to join the Bakersfield boycotters in leafletting at Safeway

for a while (and turned three people away in an hour -- it's a pretty conservative town).

Tonight I saw "Pete & Tillie" and "A Few Dollars More."

April 22, 1973 -- Today I worked on the Tenneco map some more and taped the notes from the Steinberg-Larson negotiations and also walked around La Paz taking photographs. It was a nice Easter Sunday.

April 23, 1973 -- The strike started in the San Joaquin Valley today at Kovacevich and Roberts Farms. There's no work in grapes in the Arvin-Lamont area yet, but lots of thinning in peaches, nectarines, and plums.

It's going pretty much the same in Coachella. It's hard to tell from here how successful it is -- maybe 50-65% of the workers are out. Lots of Teamster goons and private cops around. But no movement from the growers on coming over to us. It will take the boycott to do it.

The same thing for the table grape growers up here, and the wine grape operations at Gallo and Franzia Brothers (whose contracts expired last week). And Mel Finerman, our other lettuce grower, who expires on May 5. It's going to be tough to get them all back.

April 24, 1973 -- I'm staying over at David's house tonight in Bakersfield. Tomorrow we're leaving at 6:30 in the morning for a 10:00 a.m. negotiations meeting with Gallo in Livingston, in Merced County, where I was driving around checking land a month ago.

We can put a good boycott on Gallo -- one out of three bottles of wine sold in the United States is his, and he made a profit of about $35-40 million last year. But he'll try to screw us like all of them.

David called Cesar in Coachella this afternoon to ask him what we should do

with Gallo -- go easy on him in negotiations and make concessions to try to get a contract in the midst of all our problems, or be pretty tough and get a solid contract with good wages. Cesar said: "Fuck him." It's really getting hard to take these people who are trying to kill us.

Today I did more work on the Tenneco-Roberts-Superior map and also pulled information together on the wine industry and on Gallo, and a little more in the library on Tenneco as I was driving to David's house in Bakersfield.

Nothing much new on the strike. The five-member Senate investigating subcommittee from the Labor and Welfare Committee started hearings this morning in Coachella, but I haven't heard what's happening there. We're pretty much depending on the newspapers for our information, since everyone is so busy.

Yesterday's Los Angeles Times ran quite an editorial cartoon on the Coachella situation and us v. the Teamsters. It really sums up the situation well.

The whole thing is lying pretty heavily on us. It looks like we've lost about everything we've had. But everyone's confident in the fight. It may take a while, but no one doubts that we'll get them all back.

April 25, 1973 -- Today David and I drove up to Livingston for negotiations with Gallo. We just gave them our proposal and went through and explained it. There were also Teamsters in the Gallo fields, trying to organize our members (who threw them out), so we raised that at the negotiations and the company representatives said they would kick them off their property.

It'll be a long fight, but I think we'll get a contract from Gallo without a boycott. The workers here are very spirited. We gave them a report at their camp, which is in terrible condition. Lots of Portuguese workers, and chicanos, and Mexicans, and several Anglos, too, who are on the three Gallo Ranch Committees (the first Anglo

LA TIMES - APRIL 23, 1973

The Grapefather

reps I've seen). They're all very strong members.

Our wine grape workers are earning the highest general labor rate we have -- $2.70 an hour at Paul Masson, while InterHarvest is $2.25, and the table grapes were $2.00 and now $2.40 with the new Steinberg-Larson contract. But Gallo is way behind the wine growers at $2.40 an hour (although the harvesting wages for all are in the $3.50 to $5.00 an hour range, based on piece rates). So we want to get some strong increases there. The next session is next week.

April 26, 1973 -- More work on the Tenneco map today. He's really enormous -- 280,000 acres just in Kern County (mostly cotton and pasture).

Things are about the same in the strike -- fewer arrests, still a good percentage of the workers out, and no new Teamster signings.

Tonight I saw two movies: "The Heartbreak Kid" and "The War Between Men and Women."

April 27, 1973 -- Today I spent in the Bakersfield court house again on Roberts Farms. I've been there so frequently that one of the people there asked me if I was getting paid for working there. I said I ought to, and when she asked me what it was all about, I said it was a paper in agricultural economics at Cal State in Bakersfield (since I don't want them to know I'm with the UFW).

I had to call Jerry Cohen in Coachella on something tonight, and I found out from Mary Jean Friel that John Bank is there. So maybe I'll see him soon.

Also two more movies tonight: "Cabaret" and "Marjoe" (which I had been especially wanting to see -- a documentary on a pentecostal preacher who exposes the "religion business").

April 28, 1973 -- Today more work on the Roberts map and also some things on Gallo for the negotiations. He's paying the lowest wages of any of the nine wine

growers we have under contract (the others are Christian Brothers, Almaden, Franzia Brothers, Novitiate, Paul Masson, Perelli-Minetti, United Vintners, and Vie Del) -- $2.40 for general labor, while most of them are at $2.55 (and Paul Masson $2.70). So we're trying to estimate how much money Gallo has saved in the past two years so we can have an argument on why he should pay more than the others in the next contract.

The strike goes the same in Coachella as far as I know, and also at the two companies we're striking up here in Arvin-Lamont (Kovacevich and Roberts). But no one has yet signed with the Teamsters up here in the San Joaquin Valley.

I got the photos back today. The ones with Cesar's dogs really came out well.

April 29, 1973 -- More work on maps today, and also figures and comparisons for the Gallo talks.

Yesterday's Fresno Bee carried some remarkable comments on farm workers from Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters. He was quoted as having said it would be "a couple of years" before farm workers could participate directly in union meetings and also said: "I'm not sure how effective a union can be when it is composed of Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals with temporary visas." And further: "Maybe as agriculture becomes more sophisticated, more mechanized, with fewer transients, fewer green carders, and as jobs become more attractive to whites, then we can build a union that can have structure and that can negotiate with management from strength and have membership participation." The comments came in a doctoral dissertation by Jane Yett Kiely of the Berkeley Graduate Theological Union, which was made public two days ago. It's just what we've been saying about the racism and "sweetheart" nature of the Teamsters.

April 30, 1973 -- Today I was doing more wage comparisons and calculations for the Gallo negotiations, and also materials on Tenneco and Roberts.

Fresno Bee, April 28, 1973

Teamster Sees Delay In Farm Worker Role

LOS ANGELES (AP) — Although the Teamsters Union is working hard to organize farm workers, it will be "a couple of years" before those workers can play an active role at union meetings, a high ranking union official says.

The comment was made Friday after the release of a doctoral dissertation by Jane Yett Kiely, a student at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley.

"I'm not sure how effective a union can be when it is composed of Mexican-Americans and Mexican nationals with temporary visas," the report quotes Einar Mohn, head of the Western Conference of Teamsters.

He is quoted as saying it will be several years before farm workers can begin having union membership meetings — when there probably will be fewer aliens among the field workers.

After the report was released, Mohn told the Los Angeles Times that the document "is very misleading because I was talking about probable trends in the composition of the work force." He denied having included Mexican-Americans in his statement about union effectiveness.

"But," he said, "I do believe it will be a couple of years before farm workers will be able to take any real part in membership meetings."

Meanwhile, Cesar Chavez' United Farm Workers Union continued its strike Friday against most of the Coachella Valley table grape growers.

Eight of the growers were sued Friday for $32 million in damages by the UFW, which contends in its suit that the growers, by obtaining temporary restraining orders against UFW picketing, "entered into a conspiracy and systemized campaign of

See Teamsters Page A2

Teamsters:

Continued from Page A1

terrorism, intimidation, threats, assault, battery and collusion designed to forcefully prevent the UFW from exercising its constitutional rights of free speech and expression."

In the dissertation by Miss Kiely, Mohn was quoted as saying, "Maybe as agriculture becomes more sophisticated, more mechanized, with fewer transients, fewer green carders (aliens), and as jobs become more attractive to whites, then we can build a union that can have structure and that can negotiate with management from strength and have membership participation."

It was not immediately clear to whom Mohn was referring as "whites." Persons of Mexican ancestry are members of the Caucasian race, although some persons of Mexican ancestry refer to themselves as "brown."

Chavez has charged that one of the reasons the Teamsters and growers want to break the UFW is that they are racist. The allegation has been denied by Teamsters and growers, and Mohn called it "nonsense."

In other developments:

—A Riverside Superior Court judge warned the Teamsters against threatening the safety of UFW members. He said he wanted safety guaranteed for 12 UFW members to go into a grower-owned labor camp.

—In Dallas, Tex., Teamsters President Frank E. Fitzsimmons said charges by AFL-CIO President George Meany that the Teamsters are engaging in "union-busting," are unfounded.

May 1973

May 1, 1973 -- This afternoon we learned from the Lamont office that all the growers in that area (15 or 20) had signed with the Teamsters. Their contracts with us expired on April 14, the same as those in Coachella, and we had a strike against two of them. So it went as we expected and hoped against.

But we got a call from John Giumarra, who wants to meet. He's the largest of all and the most influential of the Delano group, who still have contracts with us till July 29. So maybe something will come of that.

The first Coachella grapes come on the market in two to three weeks.

There was much comment here about Nixon's two key aides Haldeman and Erlichman resigning yesterday and John Dean getting fired. There aren't any Nixon supporters at La Paz.

Today I worked on some things on Gallo. We have another session with him tomorrow. That's one we should get renewed (because of the strength of the potential boycott -- much better than table grapes in general). But you can never tell.

May 2, 1973 -- Today we had another session with Gallo in Livingston. David and I drove up there and went with 14 members of the Ranch Committee (with chicanos, Portuguese, and Anglos -- a good, strong group). It went pretty well and we think we'll get a contract. He's still pulling some shit now that the contract has expired -- not letting our field office people on his property, and even spraying Systox (an organo-phosphate regulated in the old contract) by airplane too close to the camp and even having workers go into the field the next day rather than wait 21 days for it to dissipate. But the company representatives (led by Robert Detrick, head of the Gallo personnel office) are not yelling too much on our proposals, which are pretty strong. We discussed them at more length today and have set up another meeting for

tomorrow. It takes time, but it looks good so far. But you never know.

Tomorrow we also have a meeting with Giumarra. He called after the signings of 17 Arvin-Lamont-Porterville growers yesterday by the Teamsters. So that might turn out pretty well.

May 3, 1973 -- Today I did more work on the maps of grower holdings in Kern and Merced Counties and also got more things ready for the Gallo negotiations. But their guy called and put off tomorrow's session till next week.

David is meeting with Giumarra today in Delano for general discussions.

We still have to leave tomorrow morning for the Franzia Brothers talks in Ripon, north of where Gallo is in Modesto, and about four hours from La Paz.

May 4, 1973 -- David Burciaga and I had a long and interesting day today. We left Bakersfield at 6:00 a.m. for Ripon and negotiations with Franzia. On the way we stopped off to see Joe Rubio of the selma office on the D'Arrigo grape situation. He had refused to renew his lettuce contract last November, and now he is doing the same thing in grapes. So he's been firing our members -- 14 yesterday -- and the workers are planning a walkout today. It looks like everyone might go with the Teamsters.

Yesterday's meeting with Giumarra went very well, according to David. He seems to want a contract, maybe with some concessions, but he fears what the UFW can do to him in a boycott and what the Teamsters can do to him if he doesn't sign with them (refuse to unload or handle his grapes, maybe even burn his sheds). If Giumarra comes in, we'd get all the 29 Delano growers (40% of the California table grape harvest) and we might even get the Fresno area growers (who haven't yet signed with the Teamsters), and -- stretching it -- maybe even get back the Coachella, Arvin-Lamont, and Poplar area growers we've apparently lost. So the Giumarra talks are really significant.

Then we reached Franzia Brothers Winery in Ripon about 11:00 and gave them a proposal and discussed it a little. Franzia's contract, like Gallo's, expired April 18 and they've refused to extend it during the negotiations. But we have some leverage. It would be a pretty fair boycott (though not as good as a Gallo boycott) and Franzia is 60% owned by two Eastern liberal types, one of whom is Louis Marx (of Marx toys). We met with the company vice president, who said at one point that he'd accept whatever contract we get from Gallo. And the Gallo talks have been going well.

After that we drove out to the fields to give a report to the Franzia workers, who seem pretty good, though not as strong as the Gallo workers (who are really solid and angry because they found out last summer that the company was robbing them blind and since then have been very strong for the union and don't take company crap any more).

So then we zipped down to Livingston for a few minutes to see the Gallo workers and found that they were going to a Cinco de Mayo festival at Stanilaus State College in Turlock. It's a holiday celebrating Mexican independence from France in the 1860s. It was only a short distance away, so we went over and spent a half hour. They introduced us and David spoke for five minutes on the grapes and the Teamsters and the need to boycott Safeway.

Then we drove down to Lindsay for a meeting with the Board of the Pacific Southwest Conference of the Church of the Brethren. They had been trying to pass some resolution on the union but were badly divided with lots of hot feelings, so they had invited David to talk about things and answer questions. David invited Tony Lopez, chairman of the D'Arrigo Ranch Committee and his wife, and I went along, too. It was a very interesting session. We stayed for five hours discussing it.

There were 25-30 people there, mostly elderly and including three growers.

About four or five seemed sympathetic to us, and six or seven opposed, and the rest in the middle. They asked lots of questions about why the union was needed, how much workers get paid, whether the small farmer was getting squeezed in this, why we didn't push for protective legislation, and why we had a boycott.

The boycott seemed to be the most emotional issue. One man said he disagreed with it because it brought on the waste of food. Another said he was against it because it was directed against people in the middle who weren't involved in the issue (the stores). Another said he didn't like it because it was a form of violence and pressure and he hoped things could be resolved without such "violence."

We responded to all this and more. The discussion was really tremendous. It was good for us to see how people felt about our things and good for them to hear our positions. The tone was mostly very good -- no anger or shouting, just discussion. But some got very emotional all the same.

The man who kept stressing that we should work for legislation really believed that laws work -- as if his whole philosophy were based on that. And the one who saw any kind of pressure as violence was the same. Some people are really threatened by the boycott and the issues of the union, not just in a self-interest way, but in a philosophical way.

So it was a tremendous discussion, and we all shook hands as we left and the people who invited us really felt that it accomplished what they hoped. The whole group, even the growers on the Board, is trying to struggle over serious things.

May 5, 1973 -- Things are going pretty much the same with the strike. There's not much work in Coachella since the harvest hasn't started yet, and most of the action is in the Arvin-Lamont and Poplar areas, where 17 growers signed with the Teamsters earlier this week.

They've gotten stiff injunctions against the strikers: pickets to be 150 feet apart and no closer than 60 feet to the property line, and bullhorns and sound trucks limited to no more than five minites' use at one time and no more than 30 minutes' use in one day. Forty or fifty arrests so far.

For the past two or three weeks, the La Paz people have been going down at 4:30 a.m. to help picket, but I haven't gone yet since I've been busy traveling and getting the research on the companies.

Cesar has been speaking all over the state for the past week, raising money and putting out word on the boycott.

Today I got back to the Roberts map and also worked on some things for Gallo. Kem and Larry have been finishing the maps and reports from Arvin-Lamont, Delano, Poplar, and Fresno.

In spite of the difficulties in the table grapes, we're still in negotiations with Gallo and Franzia in wine grapes, Giumarra and the Delano group in table grapes, and Mel Finerman in lettuce. Things look pretty good for renewal in all of them. But you can never tell.

I saw two more movies at a drive-in tonight: "Charley One Eye" (a real loser) and "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," one of those Clint Eastwood Italian Westerns, which kept reminding me of his right-wing mentality at the Oscars.

May 6, 1973 -- Our local assemblyman Ray Gonzales had an article on farm workers in the local paper recently. He's one of only five chicanos in the California Assembly and came up to La Paz in November to see Cesar and speak to us. The staff here gave him a rough time with questions, since he seemed wishy-washy on issues. In the campaign he had said: "Cesar Chavez is the kiss of death for a politician." But he has been generally OK in the Assembly, and this article even shows some boldness for

a man from such a conservative district.

I saw another movie tonight: "Sleuth" -- the one for which both Laurence Olivier and Michael Caine were nominated as Best Actor. It was one of the best I've ever seen.

May 7, 1973 -- Today I worked on Gallo and Franzia, making maps and pulling together some information.

Cesar stopped by my office this morning, showing one of the labor guys from Arizona around the place, so I demonstrated how we used the maps and explained what we've been doing.

Tonight we had a community meeting with the 30 or so people still left at La Paz and Cesar gave us a report on what he's been doing. Lots of traveling and speaking in the past nine days all over the state to unions, church groups, and students. Good support and monetary contributions. Tomorrow he's going to Washington for a meeting with the executive board of the AFL-CIO to ask for a formal endorsement and also money. He said he thinks it will take $2 1/2 million to win this (much of it in strike benefits to workers to encourage them to stay out rather than be forced by circumstances to go back to work) and he hopes for a big chunk from the AFL-CIO. The strike still goes well in Coachella but less so in Arvin-Lamont and Poplar, where we have fewer people helping.

Tomorrow we have another session with Gallo, which should go OK.

May 8, 1973 -- We're spending the night in Livingston after negotiating this afternoon with Gallo. It looked good last week, but not so now.

Today the company submitted to us what they wanted. (The last two sessions we had been talking about what we wanted.) This was just on contract language. Neither side has submitted any wage or fringe benefit proposals yet. But they suggested so

many changes from the old contract that it looks like they don't want a union.

They want recognition for only their grape and apple workers (not all their crops and related companies like Vincal Vineyards and the other partnerships the E. & J. Gallo Winery people are involved in). They don't want to use the Hiring Hall (which means no job protection). They want a 30-day probationary period before workers can join the union (during which people can be fired for any reason, with no resort to grievance procedure protection or union security). They want a modified seniority system (which would allow them to play favorites with the workers). They want a "super" management rights clause, spelling out all kinds of specific things they alone can determine (hiring and firing, promoting, demoting, introducing new equipment, deciding anything they want about their operation -- which would subvert the protections the workers have under other sections of the contract). They want the right to contract out work to non-union people (which would completely undermine the union). And all kinds of other things. They even changed the Bulletin Board clause, a very minor and unimportant one, giving them the right to decide what the workers can put on it. And the Health and Safety Clause, which protects against all kinds of dangerous pesticides -- they've changed it to say that the company will abide by all state and federal laws (which means nothing since those laws are meaningless).

So it looks like they're trying to get rid of us. But we'll know more tomorrow when we see how hard they fight for these things and which ones they're serious about. But it may take some boycott pressure to get them.

We're staying in a nice big old house that the staff has here: Aggie Rose, who runs the office; Juan Perez, who works there; a young woman named Pam, who does farm work in sweet potatoes, lettuce, and grapes; and Roberto de la Cruz, who works part-time for Gallo and part-time for the union. It's a good group.

May 9, 1973 -- The meeting with Gallo today went very well. We gave them our response on the contract language section by section, explaining why we felt the way we did, and the company personnel head explained his views. We modified four or five small clauses the way he wanted so we could give him something and get some movement. The mood was more relaxed. We even digressed at one point and talked about our meeting with the church group last week. That gave us a chance to discuss the boycott in a non-threatening way to keep reminding him subconsciously of it without coming out and saying so directly.

We also scored some good arguments on wanting recognition for all Gallo's companies. All the things I had looked up -- on E. & J. Gallo Winery (the principal name of the company and its agricultural operations), Gallo Glass Company (which also owns wine grape land), Vincal Vineyards, Gallo Wine of Louisiana, Gallo Vineyards, Gallo Cattle Company, and Joseph Gallo -- really came in handy, which makes me feel good. I really enjoy seeing the usefulness of our research.

The best part came just as we were about to adjourn when Bob Detrick, the company's negotiator, told us in summary what they had to have. Just as we hoped, it was a short list of fairly reasonable things. Yesterday he wanted enormous changes. But today the things he stressed were his wording on the Recognition clause, the Management Rights clause, and the Discharge clause. Those are the only things he'll fight about. So we know now they want a contract and it looks very good. It will still take a long time to work out -- seven or eight more sessions -- but the mood is good.

The second positive thing today came when we called Cesar in Washington to tell him how things were going in the Gallo talks. He had just finished meeting with George Meany and the AFL-CIO executive council. They voted a special 90-day assessment on the AFL-CIO's 14 million membership. For the next three months, every

member of the AFL-CIO will give us four cents a month. That will total $1.6 million to fight the strike, plus all the organizing help we need. So it's really tremendous. Cesar was on a real high.

Tomorrow we have an emergency negotiation with a new Salinas strawberry grower who is really hurting from our strike there. He wants to talk about a contract. That might be great.

May 10, 1973 -- Last night I stayed at David's house in Bakersfield and this morning we drove up to Salinas to negotiate with a strawberry grower we've been striking since January. His name is Anthony Gersich and he is really hurting from the strike. So he called for a meeting. He has 230 workers now but needs about 400 more to do the job -- strawberries have a critical picking time or they get overripe and go bad. The strikebreakers he has in there are not experienced. So he wanted to see what he could get from us. We met for 7 1/2 hours, but it ended with no agreement.

Gersich is a very colorful guy, and his wife and son were with him, and their plant manager. (He also owns a cannery.) He complained about the union pushing him around in the old contract and trying to run his business, and he said that money would be no problem if he had good contract language. So we talked about that.

Then on a break, we found that we didn't know what he was paying now, since none of the strikebreakers will tell our members, who are picketing them. So it was hard for us to give him a wage demand, since we couldn't be sure it would be higher than what he is paying now. So we asked him for an offer. He gave us a very high one -- $1.20 per 19-pound box for May-June heavy berries, $1.50 for July-August, and $1.75 for September-November thin, scattered picking -- much higher than the workers had ever hoped to get. But in discussion, we found that he didn't want to pay all our fringe benefits.

Ultimately, the discussion broke off when he said he couldn't hire back the irrigators on strike because he didn't want to fire any of the workers who helped him during the strike. But getting strikers back their jobs is a must for us. So we broke off amicably. Maybe he'll call us again or maybe we'll lose him. But the Ranch Committee was tremendous, especially two of the women -- articulate, strong, and solid in spirit after four months on strike. But we weren't really close to an agreement yet. There was lots more to settle with him.

Tomorrow it's Gallo again.

May 11, 1973 -- We had some kind of an experience today. Eight Teamster organizers had a meeting this evening near Gallo's Livingston Ranch headquarters. They were meeting with about 15 workers, along with some of our members who went there to argue with them. Then someone went over to the Gallo camp a mile away to tell the people what was going on, and the 100-150 workers living there came over and started raising hell with the Teamsters. That was all happening between 6:30 and 7:00 p.m. while we were still in negotiations with the company.

The session started at 2:30 p.m. and David told the company that the workers had said they'd seen Teamsters in the fields in the preceding few days, and that Teamsters had been calling them up and visiting them at their houses, as if they had gotten the names and addresses from the company. Bob Detrick, the company negotiator, denied it but then left the meeting to check and came back saying he had given orders to put a stop to it. So then we resumed the session.

But we had heard there was to be a meeting with the Teamsters at 7:00 tonight at one of the worker's houses, set up by a company supervisor, so we hoped to keep the negotiations going until then and when we got word the Teamsters were there, we planned to have all our workers go over and picket the place and then we'd bring

Detrick along so he could see with his own eyes. That's just about what happened.

We adjourned the session at a little after 7:00 p.m., told Detrick about the Teamsters' meeting, and then went over there. Detrick just went to the company office, right near the houses, but you could hear the shouting from there. We went over to the site of the meeting. There were over a hundred Gallo workers surrounding the Teamsters, shouting: "Chavez Si, Teamsters No!" "Huelga!" "Get the hell out of here!" "Fuck You!" -- and all kinds of things. This went on for 10 or 15 minutes. The Teamsters' meeting had been taking place on the front lawn of the worker's house (an Anglo shop welder). The Teamsters decided to leave and were getting shoved and kicked by our workers. The eight of them were led by an old gray-haired Anglo named Jim Smith, with seven young chicano and Filipino organizers. They all looked scared and one of them kept flashing the peace sign. They got into their three cars and the workers started pounding on the vehicles all over. It was really something. The workers were really aroused and angry.

So then five of us went over to the ranch office, where Detrick was waiting, and we talked to him. He was shaken and tried to blame us for the problem -- when it was his people who brought the Teamsters in.

Then we went over to the labor camp for a half-hour meeting with the workers, who were really mad and wanted to strike immediately if there were no contract. The police were there also -- about five cars of them -- but they were polite and the Under Sheriff said he'd keep a couple of extra cars on to watch for the Teamsters.

Then we went back to the union office for a two-hour meeting with the Ranch Committee to discuss what had been happening in the negotiations (where the company had made some movement in their position, but not much) and what to do.

The Gallo workers have real spirit, but the sad thing is that the company could

THE THUGS AND GOONS ARE BEATING AND THREATENING YOUR UNION BROTHER AND SISTER FARM WORKERS

... AND THEY ARE USING YOUR MONEY TO DO IT!

THE TEAMSTERS SNEAKED BEHIND YOUR BACK, STABBED YOUR UNION AND CESAR CHAVEZ, AND MADE A DEAL WITH THE GROWERS TO CUT YOUR WAGES AND TURN YOU AND YOUR FAMILIES BACK OVER TO THE LABOR CONTRACTORS. YOU NEVER GOT TO BE REPRESENTED IN THOSE CONTRACT TALKS. YOU DON'T KNOW WHAT WENT ON. YOU DON'T EVEN KNOW WHAT YOUR WAGES ARE. SOME WORKERS ARE BEING PAID ONE WAGE WHILE OTHERS ARE PAID ANOTHER.

THE ONLY THING THAT THE GROWERS AND TEAMSTERS HAVE TOLD YOU IS THAT YOUR DUES ARE $7.00 PER MONTH. NOW THEY ARE USING DUES MONEY TO BRING IN HIRED GOONS AND THUGS TO BEAT YOUR FARMWORKER BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND TO FRIGHTEN AND THREATEN YOU SO THAT YOU WILL BOW DOWN AND DO WHATEVER THE BOSS AND THE LABOR CONTRACTOR WANT YOU TO DO.

THE TEAMSTERS UNION WANTS TO TURN YOU BACK TO THE SLAVERY OF THE PAST. THEY ARE PLANNING TO GET RICH OFF OF YOUR BACK AND YOUR SWEAT JUST LIKE THE OTHER LABOR CONTRACTORS GOT RICH OFF OF THE SWEAT AND TOIL OF YOUR MOTHERS AND FATHERS AND UNCLES AND AUNTS.

PROTECT YOUR FUTURE - PROTECT YOUR FAMILY!
JOIN YOUR FARM WORKER BROTHERS AND SISTERS ON THE UNION PICKET LINE.

DON'T FORGET THE BIG FARM WORKER MEETING FRIDAY NIGHT

WKCOACHBLLA 4-25-78

go ahead and sign with the Teamsters anyway, just as the rest have done. I don't think they will, because we have a good potential boycott for Gallo (since it is so widespread and such a well known label), but you never can tell.

So then we drove back to La Paz and got in at 3:00 a.m., with our next meeting set for Monday, three days from now. That's when we'll really push to see if we're going to get a contract or if we're wasting our time.

May 12, 1973 -- Today we're back in La Paz and I caught up on the files and some material on Gallo.

David gave Cesar a report on the Teamsters at Gallo and our workers kicking them out. So Cesar wants to demand an immediate election at Gallo (which we would win 200-0 or 197-3) and an immediate press conference announcing the result so as to get publicity and maybe head off a move between Gallo and the Teamsters. So if they do sign with them and claim it's because the Teamsters represent their workers (as all the Coachella and Arvin-Lamont growers have been claiming), we'll be able to kill them with the publicity.

Our next meeting with Gallo is Monday (today is Saturday) when we'll present this point and also push for non-stop negotiations to get a contract, rather than pissing around like we've been doing. If they say no, the workers are ready to strike and we're ready for a boycott. I don't think they'll fight us, because we could kill them with the boycott, but you can never tell.

According to what we've heard, the union is going to spend the $1.6 million we got from the AFL-CIO in one shot in the next two to three months. We're going to raise the strikers' benefits from $25.00 a week for a head of family to $75.00 a week per striker. This may be enough to get all the strikebreakers out (many of whom are working because they have to support their families, not because they hate the union).

So we're going to try to stop the whole Coachella harvest and let it rot on the vine -- the first time we've ever had enough money to try that strategy.

In Arvin, the biggest grape grower there (John J. Kovacevich) started his peach harvest today -- a very vulnerable crop that has to be picked right away or it starts dropping (unlike grapes, which can wait awhile) -- so we're concentrating on him.

There was a big march all through Delano tonight and a rally where Cesar spoke to 2,000 people. Publicity and spirit are high.

May 13, 1973 -- Today I caught up on some of the Gallo analyses I'm doing, including a wage comparison between Gallo and Almaden. We have nine winery contracts (involving just the farm workers tending and harvesting the grapes, not the actual winery workers, whom we don't want). Three of them have really good hourly rates: Almaden, Paul Masson, and Vie Del ($2.70 an hour for general labor, and so on). Three have pretty low rates: Gallo, Franzia Brothers, and Novitiate of Los Gatos ($2.40 an hour for general labor). And three are in the middle: United Vintners (Heublein), Christian Brothers, and Perelli-Minetti.

If Gallo had had to pay the rates Almaden has been paying in the hourly categories (general labor, tractor driver, irrigator, working foreman, pruners, and so on), it would have spent about $305,480 more than it actually did since January of 1971. Gallo got off cheap, so we have a strong argument to get really good rates this time.

I also messed around with Gallo's complex assembly of subsidiaries and holdings. I should have it put together in the next few days.

Then I did a report on Safeway's connection with agribusiness. They've been handing out leaflets to their customers saying they're not involved. But three of their seven board members are closely tied to agricultural companies, led by J. G. Boswell II,

the largest non-corporate grower in California, with 108,800 in cotton and grapes. For years he has led the federal government's subsidy list, receiving $5,036,637 in 1969 in "welfare for the rich" payments. So we'll have something in the next issue of the paper about it.

Tomorrow I have to get up at 5:00 a.m. to pick up David for a 10:30 meeting in Ripon with Franzia (like driving to Miami from San San Antonio) and then down to Livingston for a 1:00 p.m. meeting with Gallo. We're going to ask for an immediate election or some assurance that they're serious about negotiations and don't intend to screw us with the Teamsters.

May 14, 1973 -- We drove up to Franzia Brothers winery this morning for a meeting for contract negotiations. It was short. They told us they would accept the same contract we signed with Gallo and gave us a proposal to Gallo's of last week (the long, terrible one with all the changes) -- so the two companies are acting together. (I subsequently discovered in court house research that Ernest Gallo is married to Amelia Franzia.)

One of the Franzia brothers himself was there, but he wasn't even introduced, didn't shake hands, and didn't say anything for the 20 minutes we met with them. All the talking was done by their labor relations man. Franzia just scowled at us. He just didn't want to stomach meeting with us and his Mexican and Filipino workers. Everyone else we've met with lately has been friendly, informal, and polite (at least on the surface) because in negotiations you've got nothing to lose by being friendly. David told me later that he almost told him to "fuck himself" (as Dolores would have). That was just like the old days when we first got the contracts. I heard Cesar say one time that in the Perelli-Minetti negotiations in 1967, Fred Perelli-Minetti wouldn't even face him or talk to him. He sat sideways and spoke to his attorney, and the attorney

spoke only to Jerry Cohen.

Then we drove down to Livingston where the Gallo workers told us there had been lots more activity with the Teamsters. They said there had been another meeting Friday afternoon (three days ago) in Snelling while we were in negotiations, and yesterday another meeting between ten Teamster organizers and six workers, which was picketed by 100-150 of the workers. And also that the company ranch managers and supervisors had apparently been meeting with the Teamsters to help them plan strategy. So it looks like the same old pattern.

The negotiating meeting with Gallo lasted only a half hour. We gave them a letter from Cesar (written yesterday by David, Nancy Kleiber, and me) reviewing the situation and asking for some concrete evidence that the company wanted to negotiate in good faith with us and not just waste our time. So they read it, and we told them about the other incidents, and we adjourned the talks until we get a response from Bob Gallo (Julio's son and the one running the company). The company had even fired a worker for allegedly threatening a supervisor during last Friday's uproar. So the workers agreed not to make any agreement with the company till he was rehired. Their spirit is real high. And now we're waiting for a response from the company to this letter.

May 15, 1973 -- Back at La Paz, today I caught up on the files, did some taping of the Gallo talks (so Susan Drake can type them up), and also wrote an article for El Malcriado on Gallo and the Teamsters and last Friday's incident ("Workers Rout Teamsters at Gallo"). We still haven't heard anything from the company about resuming negotiations, but that may come in the next day or so.

We also heard that D'Arrigo Brothers, whom we've been striking since last December, signed a contract Saturday in lettuce with the Teamsters. But no other

grape growers yet. They have 28 or so in Coachella and 17 in Arvin-Lamont and Poplar. The Coachella harvest hasn't started yet. When it does next week or so, we'll start paying the $75.00/week strike benefit and hope to shut the harvest down completely. No grape action in Arvin either, but the John J. Kovacevich peach harvest is underway, and that's where we're concentrating, with most of the La Paz people going down to help out from 4:30 a.m. to 10:00 or noon. I haven't been over there yet, but I'll try to get down tomorrow or the next day.

I'm putting together some grape boycott material for Dolores Huerta in New York City. We're getting a list of the top cities in grape sales from the Federal-State Market News Service so we can get a priority list of where we want to concentrate for the boycott. I've also gotten things from the California Table Grape Commission, which issues a booklet showing where every grape went last year. They'd really flip if they knew they were giving it to us, since their whole purpose is to promote and sell grapes.

May 16, 1973 -- More reports today on the boycott cities, work on the files, and also some things on Tenneco.

May 17, 1973 -- I've been at La Paz since we got back from Gallo on Monday. Lots of milling over reports today -- on Tenneco, Teamster cannery contract growers, and the boycott.

Our whole attention is focused on the Coachella Valley, which should start harvesting in the next few days. We hope to stop the harvest with an effective strike and also get on the boycott across the country, since those grapes will be the first to be shipped this year.

Much discussion here about Nixon and the Watergate Affair. I wish we had a TV set to watch the Senate hearings.

May 18, 1973 -- We got a telegram from Gallo this morning in response to our letter of last Monday. He says he investigated and is neutral in "this dispute between two unions." And he blames all the threats on us and tells our members working that if we threaten them they should tell the company supervisors (who are the ones fomenting all the trouble with the Teamsters). So it doesn't look good.

We responded with a telegram demanding an immediate election and we are issuing a press release also. Nothing on resuming negotiations again, so we may watch what happens for a few days and then may start a Gallo boycott.

I finished the report for the boycott on where all the table grapes go. It will help set our priorities. I'm sending it to Dolores in New York, who will probably have the biggest influence in directing the course of the boycott. Richard Chavez is now in Detroit, and Jim Drake left Arizona for Chicago two weeks ago with 30 or so people. Eliseo Medina is setting up Ohio, and Leroy Chatfield heads 50-60 people in Los Angeles. Fred Ross Sr. (who organized Cesar in the 1940s) and his son FR Jr. are in charge of the San Francisco Bay area. Those are the key places for the boycott.

What we're now thinking here is that besides hating us and wanting to cozy up to the Teamsters for a softer deal, the growers are also afraid of the Teamsters -- maybe even more than they're afraid of our boycott, since the Teamsters can stop them cold more quickly than we can by refusing to unload their stuff. They control all the transportation and unloading docks. The other day, one of the only two lettuce growers we have left -- Mel Finerman (with whom we're still in negotiations) -- had his lettuce refused by the Teamsters in Chicago. That's strictly illegal, since the Teamsters are covered by the National Labor Relations Board (as the UFW is not), but a suit for damages could drag through the courts for years, while the guy sees his produce rot.

CALIFORNIA TABLE GRAPE DISTRIBUTION -- US AND CANADA
100 LEADING METROPOLITAN AREAS
1972-1973 SHIPPING SEASON (MAY 11, 1972 -- MARCH 7, 1973)

California Table Grape Rank	Metropolitan Area	Boxes of California Table Grapes	% of California T. G. Market	Boxes of Coachella Perlettes	Coachella Perlette Rank
1	New York City-Newark	2,838,910 bxs.	12.80%	147,760 bxs.	2
2	Los Angeles	1,872,230 bxs.	8.44%	163,330 bxs.	1
3	Chicago	1,149,800 bxs.	5.18%	108,280 bxs.	3
4	San Francisco-Oakland	951,020 bxs.	4.28%	72,140 bxs.	4
5	Montreal	811,150 bxs.	3.66%	36,430 bxs.	8
6	Tononto	810,330 bxs.	3.65%	33,490 bxs.	9
7	Boston	800,300 bxs.	3.60%	51,670 bxs.	7
8	Philadelphia	724,160 bxs.	3.26%	53,970 bxs.	6
9	Detroit	652,650 bxs.	2.94%	56,450 bxs.	5
10	Cleveland	434,470 bxs.	1.96%	33,430 bxs.	10
11	Miami	363,830 bxs.	1.64%	9,720 bxs.	29
12	Pittsburg	357,750 bxs.	1.61%	12,880 bxs.	25
13	Minneapolis-St. Paul	324,900 bxs.	1.46%	30,710 bxs.	11
14	Dallas-Ft. Worth	317,600 bxs.	1.43%	17,450 bxs.	22
15	Seattle-Tacoma	297,460 bxs.	1.34%	24,420 bxs.	15
16	St. Louis	291,770 bxs.	1.31%	27,340 bxs.	13
17	Atlanta	277,420 bxs.	1.25%	17,200 bxs.	22
18	Baltimore	252,480 bxs.	1.13%	6,900 bxs.	36
19	Houston	247,070 bxs.	1.11%	17,990 bxs.	19
20	Vancouver, B. C.	246,940 bxs.	1.11%	29,530 bxs.	12
21	Portland, Ore.	241,960 bxs.	1.09%	27,050 bxs.	14
22	Denver	230,480 bxs.	1.04%	21,370 bxs.	17
23	Tampa	208,330 bxs.	0.94%	10,020 bxs.	28
24	Kansas City, Mo.	208,050 bxs.	0.93%	21,830 bxs.	16
25	Cincinnati	203,470 bxs.	0.91%	13,730 bxs.	24
26	San Antonio	198,290 bxs.	0.89%	17,170 bxs.	23
27	New Orleans	197,340 bxs.	0.89%	6,760 bxs.	38

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

May 19, 1973

Dear Cesar,

Here is areport I've just sent to Dolores in New York on the distribution of California table grapes.

It's from the California Table Grape Commission, whose 1972-1973 report was issued only two weeks ago.

As you can see, they list the 1972 California harvest at 23,048,570 boxes, about the same as the 1971 harvest which was also 23 million boxes. The big drop from the weather last year hit wine grapes and raisins and not table grapes very much.

The top three metropolitan areas (New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago) received more than one-fourth of the crop, the top five got more than one-third, and half the crop went to the top ten areas. Just over two-thirds went to the top twenty-five areas, and from threr on it was pretty scattered, with the top 100 getting 92.18% of the crop.

Arizona produced 1,184,414 boxes in 1972, which was distributed roughly to the same areas as California.

The Coachella harvest was 2,877,600 boxes last year.

Besides this four-page summary, I also sent her the Table Grape Commission report, the Federal-State Market News report on Arizona, and the Riverside County Acreage and Crop Report on the Coachella Valley.

Sincerely,

So we're hoping that Steinberg's and Larson's grapes get through OK, when the harvest begins in Coachella next week. If it does, then the Delano group of 30 or so growers, who represent 40% of the state's table grape production, might go with us.

Bill Kircher and the AFL-CIO have promised to help us on things like that, where maybe their influence and power, along with their money, might be the difference.

May 19, 1973 -- Today I got off the reports on the table grape cities to Dolores in New York and Cesar in Coachella. Then I worked on some more files and did another "Cowpies from the Growers" column for El Malcriado on the Teamsters.

Things are going pretty much the same on the strike. The action here is at John J. Kovacevich's peaches in Arvin and a few other grape growers, who are doing some thinning. There's no grape harvest in the San Joaquin Valley till July. The Coachella harvest should start next week.

May 20, 1973 -- Bad news on the Teamsters. They're refusing to unload our lettuce and they've made the same threat to the grape growers. That's probably one of the main reasons the growers signed with them, besides their hostility to us and the better deal they got with them.

This is clearly illegal, since the Teamsters are covered by the Taft-Hartley Act. But making it stick is another thing. We've been gathering evidence on this for the past month.

According to what we've heard, Mel Finerman -- whom we met with just last Wednesday (today is Sunday) and with whom we thought talks would continue -- is now meeting with the Teamsters.

So there goes the last of the people we were in negotiations with. And it's going to be a rough fight.

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P O Box 62 • Keene Ca 93531 • (805) 822 5571

May 30, 1973

Jim Horgan
c/o United Farm Workers
P.O. Box 62
La Paz, Cal. 93531

Dear Brother Jim,

If LeRoy doesn't have a copy of your report of May 19, 1973 report, please send him one.

Thanks.

Sincerely,

Cesar

Cesar E. Chavez

CEC/pg

More work on reports today.

May 21, 1973 -- Today I did some more work on reports for the boycott and also a study on contract growers for several Teamster canneries we're checking.

And I met with two people who have come up to La Paz to help us set up a central filing system and research library. One is the man from Wayne State University in Detroit who put together a very thorough bibliography on the union. Wayne State is the repository for all our past records and archival material.

This morning David left in a hurry for Salinas after he got a call from Anthony Gersich, the strawberry grower we've been striking and with whom we had a session of negotiations a week and a half ago. There might be the possibility of a contract there.

Today's Fresno Bee had a story about our demand for a union election at Gallo, and they ran it right underneath a photo of Jack Pandol's packing shed going up in flames. We have a contract with Pandol, who is a grape and lettuce grower, but it's not up until July 29 and we're not striking him. It's unlikely that any of our people were connected with the fire. It may have been the Teamsters, or someone else, or an accident.

I've been at La Paz for the past week, still working on various studies. There are about 20 or so people still here, with most out on the strike in Coachella.

May 22, 1973 -- I spent all day putting together the material we've found on the Teamster cannery project. They have contracts with 26 major canners here (Dole, Libby, Hunt-Wesson, Del Monte, California Canners and Growers, and so on) which expire this summer. So when they renew them, we think they might try to get at the same time all the growers who sell their tomatoes, peaches, olives, etc. to these canneries. So we're checking all the court houses to find out which growers have selling agreements with these canneries, so we can claim representation there or call

for worker elections or whatever to head off the Teamsters there. We did find a hundred or so grower agreements with four canneries in three counties, but we don't have anything on the other 22. So I put together what we have and sent it to Cesar in Coachella, and in the next day or two Kem and Larry will hit all the northern court houses near Modesto, Oakland, Salinas, Stockton, and Sacramento to get more names.

I still have a number of miscellaneous reports I want to do, plus pulling together all the San Joaquin table grape grower stuff, now that we've finished the court house and land check on them, except for a few loose ends.

Tomorrow I'm going to try to get down to the John J. Kovacevich peach strike. His harvest has been going for about two weeks, and he's way behind and having a hard time getting workers (mostly inexperienced people from the cities and all over). So we're doing pretty well there.

May 23, 1973 -- I spent most of the day on the picket line near Arvin at John J. Kovacevich's peach orchards and William Mosesian's grapes. Both were among the 17 to sign with the Teamsters on May 1. There were about 20 of us picketing, including about ten or so from La Paz.

It was really interesting. We went around with a sound car speaking to the strikebreakers. At Mosesian a supervisor in a pick-up played music and loud squeaking noises on his own amplifier, trying to jam us whenever we started speaking. We think it's counter-productive. The workers see him trying to block what we're saying, so they get more interested in listening to us.

The tone was very good with the scabs. Joking back and forth: "Come on out. We've got ham and eggs here for you. And beer." And the strikebreakers inside, shouting "Viva la huelga!" as they stopped working to listen. We talked with a small group of six girdlers on their lunch break. ("Girdling" is a process a few weeks before

harvest, where the workers cut off a ring of bark with a double-bladed knife just above ground level on the vines in order to keep the juices up into the grapes.) They said they were with us but that they had to work to pay their bills and make mortgage payments -- which is true. These aren't bitter scabs and union-haters like the White River strikebreakers last fall, who were totally against and feared the union (because union people threw rocks at the buses they came in on and chased their cars and even slashed their tires -- all much against the non-violent philosophy of the UFW). So when the harvest reaches here in July, we should be able to get most of them out with the $75.00 a week benefits.

I talked with Cesar in Coachella today about our Teamster-cannery contract-grower project. We have to move on it, so I asked Kem and Larry to hit all the court houses in the Modesto-Sacramento-San Jose areas, and they're taking off tomorrow for a week or ten days.

David Burciaga got a contract for us last night with Anthony Gersich's Pic'd Rite strawberries of Salinas. And with good rates. It goes just for six months, but it's a good boost for out morale. And it was won by a strike -- the only time that has happened (all the others coming from boycotts) because a farm worker strike is so hard to pull off, given the power of the growers and the ease of replacement labor. Those workers there are really something.

May 24, 1973 -- Today I finally got around to pulling together all the stuff I've gathered on Gallo for a general analysis of the company. More work on other projects, too.

The Coachella harvest will start late next week. There's a big pre-harvest fiesta there on Sunday. We're about to see if our strategy works and if we can stop the harvest by paying significant strike benefits.

If that's successful, it will mean that we can do it in Arvin-Lamont later this summer and Delano, too -- so those 32 growers there with 40% of the California production, whose contracts expire on July 29, will really be watching us, and also Steinberg and Larson to see if they sell their grapes OK without Teamster problems.

That $75.00 a week per person is the key thing that may draw them out, but there is alrady a problem in administering it. People are coming from all over hell to work an hour for one of the struck growers and then walk out and pick up $75.00 -- so we're working on a seniority system for the strikers to qualify for the money. Otherwise we'd just be handing out $1.6 million to anyone, and not stopping the work.

Also, two days ago Cesar and Jerry Cohen met with Quentin Reynolds, chairman of the board of Safeway Stores. Cesar had sent him a letter on May 9 gently refuting his claim of "neutrality" and saying we needed help in calling for elections for the workers. So Reynolds, whose profits are really falling because of the Safeway boycott, sent us a telegram three or four days ago inviting a meeting. So they went to the company's Oakland headquarters the other day. It was a good session -- no agreement by Safeway to handle just our lettuce and grapes, but Reynolds promised to take out $400,000 worth of ads in newspapers urging the growers to have elections and let their workers decide. So that will help put pressure on them and may be a step toward Safeway's agreeing for the first time to carry just our stuff. Things are looking up there.

Today there was another negotiating session in LA with Mel Finerman, who's still meeting with us. And next week Gallo.

May 25, 1973 -- Today I started pulling together things for the overall analysis of Gallo -- adding up the court house details, checking last fall's Time cover story on the company, and going through the many other things we have on him, as well as

calling the Wine Institute in San Francisco for some statistics on U.S. wine production and sales (they won't give anything out on specific companies so I had to make estimates in that regard), and other things like that.

This afternoon, a bunch of us went into Bakersfield to picket the house of Marty Bozina, Kovacevich's ranch supervisor. There were about 60 of us -- 15 or so from La Paz and 45 or so workers from his ranch in Arvin, where we're striking his peaches and grapes. It was a nice neighborhood but his house was right on a busy highway with no sidewalk (sort of like Highway 52 in San Antonio), so we had to march around on his lawn. All of us had red and black UFW flags and signs: "Elections, Now" -- "No More Peaches, No More Grapes" -- "Kovacevich, Teamsters, Nixon -- Another Watergate" -- "Kovacevich, Your (drawing of a donkey's head) Is in Trouble." And similar high-class things. It caused quite a stir in the neighborhood, but Bozina wasn't home. A half-hour after we arrived, every cop and sheriff in Bakersfield was there -- about 12 cars and 20 cops, with sirens going. So we all left, and there were no arrests for trespassing.

Then we went over to Safeway and leafleted for three hours. It was good, and very effective. Only 70 or so cars came in all the time we were there, and we turned about 20-25 customers away at the door. Safeway has had a picketing injunction against us since January, which limits us to two people 10 feet from each door and five people in the parking lot, with an unlimited number on the public sidewalk. The manager came out and counted all of us and then a half-hour later four sheriff's cars and a van arrived, and a little son-of-a-bitch who looked like Haldeman started strutting around saying we were violating the injunction (which we weren't, since most of us were on the public sidewalk) and making it look like we'd all be arrested. But after a while they all left, and we stayed on till 9:00 or 9:30 p.m. We must really be

WIRE from E & J GALLO (These are not exact words. Wire copy coming from WU)

Received by Susan Drake at La Paz, 5/21/73 late afternoon

You misunderstood our previous communication. The Teamsters do not represent our workers. Since April 18, we have had 6 meetings. You suspended the last one. We can continue negotiations at any time.

(Signed) Robert J. Gallo

cc: Jose
David B.
Legal
Adm file

This gets him on record that the Teamsters do not represent his workers — so it's unlikely now that he will go with them, because this statement would be great propaganda for us to use in the boycott.

So it looks good + we set up another negotiating meeting for May 25.

punishing Safeway's profits. Things like that are happening at all the stores.

May 26, 1973 -- Today I spent all day on the Gallo report, pulling together all the stuff we have on him and typing it. I'm almost finished.

Lots of people from here have taken off for Coachella for the weekend, where there's a big fiesta to kick off the harvest strike, which will start next week. There's also a smaller barbecue-fiesta in Lamont for the strikers at Kovacevich-Mosesian-and the other growers, now in the peach harvest and grape girdling. The grape harvest here starts in mid or late July.

I stayed at La Paz to work on the Gallo thing, and one of the young guards borrowed my car to go down to Lamont. When he was driving back to La Paz tonight with a couple of others from here, a cop started chasing him for reckless driving and instead of pulling over, he tried to get away (with the others shouting at him to stop). The others finally had to wrestle the wheel away from him and put on the brakes. But then he jumped out and ran off, so the cops jumped out and pulled their guns, and it was all the others could do to keep them from shooting him. But he came back finally, so the cops shook everyone down and searched the car, which they thought was stolen, since it has expired Florida plates on it, plus new California plates they found in the trunk (which I got a couple of weeks ago but haven't put on yet). But they found registration papers and all in the console (plus a $2.00 parking ticket from El Centro from last February, which I never paid -- and which will probably cost me $25-50.00 now). So they arrested him for reckless driving (he also didn't have a license) and let the others go and took him to Juvenile Hall (he's only 17), where there will be a hearing on Monday. So the three others were happy to get back alive from that.

May 27, 1973 -- I finished the Gallo report today (Sunday). It's filled with lots of good detail, which will be helpful in many areas.

The latest El Malcriado came out. It's got a new feature -- a crossword puzzle put together by Frank Denison, one of the attorneys. We have five now, including Ellen Lake, a new lawyer who just came on with us, plus three legal assistants. There's lots of work for them here these days.

May 28, 1973 -- I spent most of the day on a map of Merced County, filling in the Gallo companies (and also three of Roberts Farms' operations) to accompany the report. I sent a copy to Cesar in Coachella.

Gallo's telegram to his workers 10 days ago (in English, Portuguese, and Spanish) made it look as if he really would go with the Teamsters. But now things look better. But you can never tell. David and I are driving up to Livingston tomorrow for negotiating session #7.

Susan Drake typed the tapes I made of the first six sessions all day yesterday and today -- 70 pages -- really some job. They're really interesting to read over and helpful in getting a sense of what's happened so we can figure ahead. We've done most of the presentation of our arguments and theirs, so it's getting down to the agreement stage -- if they're serious.

May 29, 1973 -- We had another session with Gallo in Livingston today. And there was another incident with the Teamsters at the company's Fresno Ranch last week. But the company negotiators admitted flatly that they know we represent the workers. They promised to check on the latest incident. They also accused us of stalling the negotiations by continually raising the issue of the Teamsters -- trying to make it appear that it was a fabrication of our making.

So anyway, we went ahead for a four-hour session, going through the contract language again, keeping our position on the big issues: recognition for all the company's agricultural workers in all crops of all subsidiaries; our phrasing in the

management rights and discharge clauses; the hiring hall; three days to join the union rather than the 30-day "probationary period" the company wants; the health & safety and ecology clause banning various pesticides; no mechanization; recognition for Gallo's contract growers who sell grapes to their winery; and the successor clause. But we gave them some concessions on the little items which don't mean anything, in order to get things moving.

Now it's their turn to respond to us at the next meeting, the day after tomorrow, so they'll have to make some concessions to us on the big items if they're to keep things moving. Then afterward we had a three-hour meeting with the workers to discuss the situation. I reviewed the map of company holdings and the report on Gallo. Then we drove back to La Paz, getting in at 2:00 a.m.

On the drive back, David told me that last week in Salinas Cesar had told him what George Meany was whispering to Cesar in that widely published photo of the two of them, with the story on the AFL-CIO's $1.6 million membership assessment for us. Meany was saying: "Your image on non-violence is good for public relations but, you know, it'll take a little muscle to win this." Cesar told him that he agreed with him in a way -- which, I suppose, is being pragmatic. Not burning and pillaging and beating hell out of the strikebreakers, but bringing enough pressure to be successful without losing every shred of the moral principles in which he and the rest of us still strongly believe. It's a real fine line to put into practice.

May 30, 1973 -- More work on miscellaneous reports today. There's a session with Gallo again tomorrow.

May 31, 1973 -- I had to skip the Gallo meeting today to drive down to Coachella to make another map of the valley grape growers for the organizers. A friend of the union has provided them with an airplane. They fly over the vineyards

Los Angeles Ti

LARGEST CIRCULATION IN THE WEST, 1,026,499 DAILY, 1,210,556 SUNDAY

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AN ASIDE—AFL-CIO President George Meany has a whispered word for Cesar Chavez of United Farm Workers in capital after announcing AFL-CIO will give $1.6 million to aid Chavez' union.
UPI Wirephoto

No Curbs on Use of Energy in State Recommended by Study

Report Prepared for 5 Power Firms Predicts Temporary Shortages Will Occur but Says Problem Could Be Solved

BY LARRY PRYOR
Times Environment Writer

The Stanford Research Institute recommended Wednesday that California impose no limits on the use of energy, particularly electricity, and warned that such limits could throw the state into an economic depression.

In a 420-page report prepared for five major power companies, the Menlo Park research firm predicted that the state would undergo a temporary shortage of some forms of energy over the next five years, a shortage that might attain "drastic proportions."

In the case of fuel oil, for example, SRI said it would be preferable to close the energy gap by using "fuel oil with a higher sulfur content rather than force power and industrial plants to close and thereby impair economic activity."

Please Turn to Page 30, Col. 1

Lebanese Artillery, Jets Hit Guerrillas

AFL-CIO Will Give Chavez $1.6 Million to Fight Teamsters

BY HARRY BERNSTEIN
Times Labor Writer

The AFL-CIO agreed Wednesday to give Cesar Chavez's farm workers union $1.6 million in cash plus "substantial" manpower to help in the battle against the alliance of Teamsters and growers in Cochella Valley.

The decision, made at a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council in Washington, marks a major change in union strategy—away from concentration on a nationwide boycott of grapes to a strike aimed at cutting off the grape harvest.

The $1.6 million is allocated just for a three-month period, and is far

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and with the map they can see exactly what company owns the land, who has the strikebreakers, and where the strike is being successful. They have used the map so often that it had gotten generally beaten up and worn.

It was tremendously hot -- 110° or so, as it has even been for the past few days in the San Joaquin Valley, as far north as Livingston.

I saw John Bank, whose nose was broken by a Teamster goon in a restaurant the other day. It was bandaged in the form of the union's Aztec eagle (upside down). I talked with him a little bit, but we were both busy. His job is liaison with the press and writing the daily strike newsletter to be sent to all our field offices and boycott cities. The incident in which he was struck was really cold-blooded. Those Teamsters really are thugs.

It took me all day to do the map because I wanted to check our court house records against the land descriptions in the injunctions the growers have all gotten against us.

Then all the people in the office started leaving about 8:45 p.m., and then 9:00 and 9:15 in order to get to bed, since they get up at 3:30 a.m. to be out for the strike. (Work in the desert starts very early in the morning since it is so hot by noon, when the workers generally quit for the day.) So I hurried up and finished at 10:00 p.m. shortly after the last person left. It was kind of freaky being alone in our office, with all that's happening.

The Coachella harvest started today in spots, but the grapes were too green to pass sugar inspection by the USDA, so none were shipped. Fair success in getting the strikebreakers out, but too many are still working.

Then I drove back to La Paz, getting in at 1:30 a.m. to get up early for the next Gallo session in Livingston at 10:30 tomorrow morning.

The official voice of the United Farmworkers

English

EL MALCRIADO

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Chavez SI Teamsters NO!

TEAMSTER VIOLENCE IN COACHELLA

Fr. John Bank Brutally Assaulted

COACHELLA, California -- A Teamster goon smashed in Father John Bank's nose as he ate breakfast at the Trukadero Restaurant in Coachella May 30 about 9:00 a.m.

On their way to the Union strike office after visting the grape strike picketlines, Fr. Bank and Wall Street Journal reporter William Wong went, at Wong's suggestion, to the restaurant to continue their discussion. As they ordered breakfast, about ten Teamster goons came in and sat down at the tables around them.

The goons recognized Fr. Bank immediately and harrassed the two men with loud remarks about "those AFL-CIO guys over there." The remarks, along with animal noises and hysterical laughing, continued for about ten minutes.

Finally, Fr. Bank told them: "This man is a reporter from the Wall Street Journal. You are giving him a good show. You're like a cast from a 'B' movie."

One of the goons, Mike Falco, 24, Buena Park, came over to the table, saying, "So you think its funny? I'm going to stop laughing and then its not going to be so funny."

Did not strike back

Falco took off his dark glasses, stared at Fr. Bank, and said, "This is going to be worth going to jail for." Two or three goons suddenly pressed Fr. Bank against his table from behind.

Falco swung as hard as he could with his left hand and slugged Fr. Bank square in the face. Fr. Bank's nose shattered. He did not strike back.

Blood gushed out of his nose and a waitress brought him a towel. He asked the waitresses to call the police, but they refused. Fr. Bank was finally obliged to call the police himself.

While he was waiting for the police to come, one of the goons told him, "Don't stand around here bleeding. People are trying to eat. You'll make them sick."

Hospitalized

The Coachella police arrived, but did not make any arrests until Fr. Bank said he wanted to make a citizen's arrest. Falco was then searched and as he was taken away, he waved playfully at his fellow thugs.

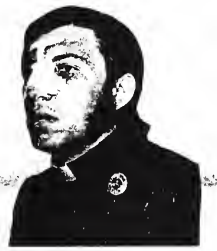
Bill Wong took Fr. Bank to Indio Memorial Hospital where a doctor from Palm Springs reshaped and set his nose the best he could.

Mike Falco will be charged with assault with intent to inflict serious bodily harm--a felony. He was released on $625 bail. Arraignment has not yet taken place.

Later Fr. Bank, who as a teenager was a Golden Glove fighter, said he had never been hit so hard in his life.

Fr. Bank returned to the picket line the next day where strikers expressed their concern for his injury. But a flat-bed truck filled with Teamster goons continued their ridicule as he walked along the line bandaged up like an auto accident victim.

Fr. Bank is on loan to the Union from the Diocese of Youngstown Ohio and has been doing press-laison work for the Union since mid-June. He began his work in support of the Union in 1969 when he became involved in the Grape Boycott in Ohio. Fr. Bank was co-ordinating the boycott in Ohio prior to coming to the Coachella Valley.



Fr. John Bank. His bishop, James W. Malone, immediately sent Teamster President Frank Fitzsimmons a telegram condemning his union's politics of violence.

The arrow points to Mike Falco, six feet four inches tall and weighing 300 pounds, surrounded by fellow Teamster goons. The day after the assault, Msgr. George C. Higgins, Director of the Department for Social Development of the U.S. Catholic Conference issued a statement in Washington, D.C. saying the Teamsters' failure to denounce the attack on Fr. Bank proves the Teamsters condone such violence and continue to encourage it by hiring thugs at $67 a day.

June 1973

June 1, 1973 -- This morning I drove up to Livingston for our 10:30 meeting with Gallo. We got agreement on a couple of minor clauses more. The big ones are still to come. We adjourned after two hours to meet again on Monday. It looks like the company is stalling and it will be a while before we get the language settled so we can go on to the wages and benefits.

Then I drove up to Modesto and Stockton to check more Gallo names in the court houses. I found a few more acres of grapes, owned by one of their family members. The grapes are planted on their 23-acre estate where their house is -- a really sumptuous mansion with "Keep Out" signs all over, owned by Susann Gallo (Julio's daughter) and her husband James E. Coleman, an executive with the company. I also drove by the E. & J. Gallo Modesto winery (the one featured in Time magazine) -- enormous.

And then the long drive back to La Paz (stopping off in Fresno to see "Hitler: The Last 10 Days" with Alec Guiness).

June 2, 1973 -- Today I caught up on some clippings and got some things from Kem and Larry on our Teamster cannery project and also talked with Dolores Huerta, temorarily in St. Louis, to give her some information on the laws on sugar content in table grapes. We're trying to guard against Coachella growers' shipping grapes with insufficient sugar content by testing them at the markets ourselves in Los Angeles and New York. Perlettes have to have 15 1/2% "soluble solids" or a 20-1 sugar-acid ratio, and to test them you need a $75.00 refractometer.

We also had a barbecue-fiesta at La Paz for 60-70 Lamont strikers.

June 3, 1973 -- More clippings and organizing the general files today. Tomorrow we have another session in Livingston with Gallo, so David and I are driving up. Only

slow progress there lately, with some agreements on minor points and the Teamsters not much in evidence recently.

June 4, 1973 -- We're in Livingston and we've just finished our tenth session with Gallo. We met for only an hour and a half.

The company gave us new proposals on the eleven or so clauses we haven't yet agreed on: recognition for their various subsidiaries and crops, the hiring hall, union security and probationary period, the right of union officials to have access to company property, the discharge clause citing what things workers can be fired for, management rights, the "no interruption of work" clause banning boycotts and slowdowns and strikes and other economic actions against the company during the contract, grievance procedure, seniority system, leaves of absences, the subcontracting clause on what circumstances in which the company can use non-union labor (generally for jobs with special equipment like the application of pesticides by air -- we let the company hire people who don't have to join the union, but that clause can be abused to get around the union), and the successor clause (the company doesn't want one which binds the union to the land, so that if the company sells, the buyer must recognize the union). So those are the issues we have left (we've agreed on eleven small ones) just in the language part of the contract. We haven't discussed wages, fringe benefits, or any economic issues yet.

What they proposed today was piss poor. They made some small changes but nothing of substance on the important clauses, so we're still pretty far apart. And it looks like we won't get anything from them until they feel some pressure.

The big push in Coachella (now that the harvest has started) and the boycott cities' gearing up to go after Perlettes (the first variety of table grapes harvested) make it hard for us to boycott Gallo now. And Gallo doesn't start harvesting until the

middle of August, still 2 1/2 months away, so he has time to play with us. A strike by us now wouldn't hurt him. He seems to be stalling so that we get deeper into the Coachella thing and the table grape boycott, and thus less able to take him on in a Gallo wine boycott.

I think he's trying to bluff us and take advantage of the Teamster problem by scaring us into making concessions to him on language and maybe money, too. But it's hard for us to challenge his probable bluff by a strike (there's no important work going on) or a boycott (we're all geared up for table grapes -- though maybe we could do some selective action). So we're thinking of stalling negotiations to get closer to the harvest.

As it is now, with no pressure to bring on him, the best we can hope for is the old contract language. And it isn't too hot in some clauses, and Gallo is still pushing hard for changes even more favorable to him and has rejected just about all our proposals favorable to us.

Gallo is our second or third oldest contract. It goes back to 1967. At that time, he didn't fight us at all -- no strike and no boycott. Apparently he saw how we hurt Schenley in the 1966 boycott and DiGiorgio, too, and just decided to sign with us without a fight. And he got pretty good terms -- our language in those early contracts was weak. We've gotten much more protective language in our later contracts. We learned a lot, too.

In 1970, when Gallo's first contract expired, it was renewed with no problem. We were wrapped up in nonstop negotiations with 150 table grape growers who signed that summer. Gallo's contract language was not too bad and his wages in 1970 were good. But the second and third year wages in that contract for 1971 and 1972 ($2.00 an hour for general labor in 1970, $2.20 in 1971, and $2.40 for 1972) looked good to us

in 1970 but by 1971 and 1972 they were very much behind the new contracts we signed with Heublein (Italian Swiss Colony wine), Paul Masson, and Vie-Del -- all of which came from short boycotts and got very good language and rates, because the companies were hurting and wanted to settle on our terms. So with them, we got the language we wanted and base general labor rates of $2.40 an hour for 1971, $2.55 for 1972, and $2.70 for 1973. Gallo was 30-35 cents behind just in that category and even further behind in the tractor driver, irrigator, mechanic, and 10-20 other higher paid job classifications. I did an analysis of this and calculated that Gallo has saved $305,000 since January 1, 1971, because it paid lower wage rates than its UFW-contract competitors.

So when you have power you get good terms, and when you don't you get diddly or nothing at all. It has always been no problem to get Gallo to sign a renewal, but we never put pressure on him as we did with the other wine companies, so we never got a tremendous contract.

So that's where we are with him now. Strategically, he has the advantage and is trying to bluff us into concessions. We won't get much unless we can bluff him, and it's hard for us to do it right now.

On the surface, our relations have always been very good. Dolores, for example, who negotiated the 1967 and 1970 contracts, is said to have been really charmed by Bob Gallo and has always spoken highly of him. He's also on the board of our Robert F. Kennedy Medical Plan, jointly administered by the union and grower representatives to decide RFK policies and benefits, and he seems very good there.

But on the worker level, relations are the worst of any of our companies. Whenever the Livingston office staff visits the fields to talk to the workers, three or four company supervisors follow them around, intimidating them and writing down what

they say to the workers. The strongest union members are given the crappiest work assignments. And when it comes to the harvest they're assigned to the poorest vines so they'll have to work a lot for little piece-rate money, while the most vocal critics of the union and our weakest members are given the richest most productive blocs of vines to pick because they're company favorites.

The company also tries to use the subcontracting clause against us by hiring non-union workers for special jobs (like installing sprinklers) which could be performed by our people.

We heard from the workers that in the time before the union contract, one of the supervisors used to order people fired every day for no reason -- just to keep the workers intimidated and in line. Even now, they've fired two of the strongest union members in the last month -- one for allegedly threatening a supervisor at that Teamster incident on May 11 (which happened after hours), and another for allegedly reporting to work late after an approved leave (even though he had a medical excuse).

Worst of all was the case last August where the company short-changed workers' hours to show falsely that their piece rates averaged $3.72 an hour (the minimum they had to pay, according to the contract) -- cheating the workers out of thousands of dollars and causing a one-week work stoppage, which was finally settled by negotiating very good piece rates, the highest in the industry -- all of which resulted because of that strike pressure.

So that's the kind of company Gallo is -- big and secretive and rich and outwardly charming, but very viscious in their dealings with the union and the workers. That's the kind of thing that brought them to the position they're in now -- making one out of every three bottles of wine sold in the U. S.

Things on the surface are very nice in the negotiations, but not much

substantive progress. And it will be like this till they feel some pressure.

June 5, 1973 -- Back at La Paz today, I caught up on the mail and the files, got some more things off to Dolores in New York on how to test grapes for sugar content (anticipating that illegally green grapes will be showing up there), and typed up the minutes' of yesterday's Gallo meeting.

While we were at Gallo yesterday, there was a hearing in Bakersfield of a California Senate subcommittee looking into abuses of court injunctions and temporary restraining orders. Lots of people from La Paz, the Lamont strikers, and the Teamsters guards all went there. John J. Kovacevich, Harry Weatherholdt (of Tenneco), the Kern County Sheriff, and Jerry Cohen all testified. It went pretty favorably for us. There's a remote chance of a law putting limits on these growers' injunctions which really hamper us. The current one in Arvin-Lamont says that pickets have to be 100 feet apart and loudspeakers can be used for a maximum of one hour a day in any one place.

Tonight I gave in to the movie weakness and went to a Bakersfield drive-in to see "The Godfather" (and "Hannie Caulder").

June 6, 1973 -- Today I put together some more things on Gallo. We're now delaying the negotiations -- but not overtly so he won't break them off himself and shout "bad faith." We're going to set the next meeting for late next week, trying to get a little closer to his August harvest so he'll see some pressure. And I typed up the record of one of last week's sessions -- 23 pages, which took me all day. (Susan Drake, who was doing this, is now busy with all kinds of other work, since there are few people left at La Paz.)

June 7, 1973 -- Today I worked on a big chart of Tenneco, Inc. showing all their subsidiaries and holdings. They're by far the biggest company we deal with -- bigger than Gallo, United Fruit, Libby, Coca-Cola, and even Bethlehem Steel and

Xerox.

Then I got a call from Diana Lyons and got together a lot of information for her: the top 25 lettuce cities and table grape cities; pie charts showing how much the worker, grower, shipper, broker, and retailer get from a 35-cent head of lettuce (the farm worker gets two cents) and from a 49-cent pound of grapes (ten cents for the farm worker -- surprisingly -- because there is much more labor involved in grapes than in lettuce). That's ironic because lettuce harvesters, who seem to get very little from a head of lettuce, are the highest paid of all workers -- most getting $8,500 to $9,000 because they can work year-round and are pretty well paid overall. Grape workers, on the other hand, seem to get a lot (ten cents on a pound of grapes, whatever it's selling for), but they're among the lowest paid union farm workers, averaging $5,500 or so.

June 8, 1973 -- Today's issue of El Malcriado carried a front-page photo of John Bank with his nose bandaged in the form of an Aztec eagle. The story is accurate but the picture is a little misleading -- he wasn't wearing a Roman collar at the time.

I heard on the radio today that the Seafarer's Union had arrived in Coachella today. They're really tough and they hate the Teamsters. They helped us a lot in the Salinas lettuce strike in 1970.

El Malcriado also had my article "Workers Rout Teamsters at Gallo" (but no byline). The other Gallo story gives a good summary of the whole scene. David and I gave the details to Venustiano Olguin, the editor. The Boone's Farm label is a nice touch. It will get back to the company, probably through one of the pro-company workers, and should help with subtle potential boycott pressure.

More work on Tenneco today. I finished the first part of the two-page chart on the company.

Tonight I saw the movie "Scorpio" with Burt Lancaster.

Gallo Admits Union Represents Workers

LIVINGSTON, California -- "We have no reason to believe that anyone other than you (UFW) represents our workers," said Bob Deatrik, chief negotiator for E. & J. Gallo Winery, to Union Director of Negotiations David Burciaga and Research Director Jim Horgan during a negotiating session May 29.

He told David and Jim that "we have never departed from our position--and that's why we are sitting down with you--that you represent our workers."

Teamster intrusions

The admission came after negotions stalled for 15 days as a result of at least five Teamster intrusions onto company property, in some cases with express consent of company supervisors.

The Union contract expired April 18 and the workers agreed to continue working during negotiatons as long as the company stuck to its policy of not permitting neither Union organizers nor Teamsters onto its fields. Teamsters were seen entering Gallo fields as early as April 25.

Supervisors let Teamsters in

Teamster organizers came to Gallo's Fresno operation May 10, talked with ranch superintendent Ferd Bernardi, and proceeded into the fields. They were asked to leave by the workers. When the Union confronted the company with the incident at the May 11 negotiating session, the company replied Bernardi had probably not been informed of company policy.

On another occasion, company supervisor Bill Wolgamott arranged for a Teamster meeting to take place at Union member Fred Huckobey's company owned house. David Burciaga went to the meeting to find the workers very upset and trying to run the Teamsters off company property. But a company supervisor, Alberto Cardenas, told the workers that the Teamsters had a right to be there and even challenged some of the workers to a fist fight.

Teamsters were seen in front of the company ranch superintendent Bill Heuer's house. The following day the Teamsters had the names and addresses of all the workers at Gallo's Snelling Ranch.

Collusion with the company

In another incident, Horonato Pimientel, a Union member who is siding with the company, told the negotiating committee he was working for the Teamsters in collusion with the company. The negotiating committee is comprised of workers elected by the general membership at Gallo and attends negotiating sessions with the company.

On May 13, Pimientel threatened the negotiating committee and spat on one of the members, Jose Villasaez, and threw him to the ground. He also threw Frank Perry, another member of the committee, to the ground. Negotiations stalled May 14.

Serious doubts

The workers, the vast majority strong Union members, began to have serious doubts about the company's good intentions. These doubts were further aroused when Robert J. Gallo, one of the company owners, sent a letter to the workers May 18 telling them "you are in the middle of a contest between two unions."

"You will not lose your job for signing, or not signing a union card. You have been told the company is close to reaching agreements on a new contract. The company is not close to an agreement with any union," Gallo wrote.

Cesar demands elections

After he saw a copy of the letter, Union Director Cesar Chavez sent Gallo a telegram stating, "We do not agree with your position that there exists a contest between two unions, as to which Union represents the company's workers...."

"...There seems to be some doubt in your mind," Cesar wrote, "as to which Union represents the workers; we are demanding an immediate election supervised by an outside party acceptable to both the company and the Union."

When the demand was publicized in the newspaper, the FRESNO BEE, Gallo could not be reached for comment.

Gallo sent the Union a telegram stating there had been a misunderstanding, "the Teamsters do not represent our workers," and negotiations would be resumed at any time. When negotiations resumed May 29, the Union pressed the election issue, but the company admitted the Union represents the workers.

Differences with the company

Perhaps not by accident, the "Teamster problem" paralleled the emergence of differences between the Union the company on some basic issues.

The company wants to abolish the hiring hall and so far, refuses to extend the Union contract to all of its subsidiaries. The company wants to undermine Union security by establishing a 30-day probation period in which a worker could be fired for any reason without recourse to grievance procedures.

David Burciaga says workers are dispatched anew before every phase of work and they would be continually under probation and in danger of losing their jobs, if the company's proposals were accepted.

Commenting on the company's proposals, he said, "Maybe this is one of the reasons the Teamsters are around. This is the type of contract language acceptable to the Teamsters, in which workers have no job security."

E. & J. Gallo Winery has 10,000 acres in crops, including 1,500 acres in apples. From the apples, Gallo produces "Boone's Farm", until now, the company's most popular seller in the "pop-wine" field.

WORKERS ROUT TEAMSTERS AT GALLO

LIVINGSTON, California -- A crowd of 125 aroused Gallo workers showed eight Teamster organizers what union they want as they drove them away May 11 from a meeting the outsiders were conducting on company property in Livingston. The Teamsters left the scene with shouts of "Chavez Si, Teamsters, No." "Huelga" and "Get the hell out of here" ringing in their ears.

The abortive meeting had begun even as UFW negotiators, led by David Burciaga, were in session with company representatives in the fifth in a series of talks to renegotiate the six-year-old contract which expired on April 19.

Gray-haired Jim Smith and his seven young, showcase chicano and filipino cohorts from the "Western Conference of Teamsters Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee" in Stockton and Fresno were were arrogantly boasting of their $300 a week salaries and cockily describing the features of their so-called contracts.

But the ten workers who had been persuaded to come and listen to the Teamsters rejected the shallow bribes and disputed their claims.

Along with Bobby de la Cruz, who had been fired from his job at Gallo two weeks earlier, and Juan Perez of the Union staff, also present at the open-air meeting, they accused the Teamsters of selling out workers, offering phony benefits, and trying to restore the labor contractor system. And when the crowd arrived, the Teamsters quickly saw that they have no business messing with farm workers. They retreated to their three new Catalinas, handily parked nearby, with one Teamster meekly flashing the peace sign.

In the midst of this, the day's negotiating session had adjourned, the four company representatives, on their way to their Livingston Ranch headquarters, could not miss what was happening only 100 feet away. The Union negotiators and the Negotiating Committee joined the workers in the demonstration. There could be no doubt in the minds of company officials or the Teamsters as to who represents the Gallo workers.

Mexicans, Anglos and Portuguese, those Gallo workers, led by Basilio Cahvez, Jose Villasacz, Clyde Huckobey, Bob Abbott, Mario Vargas, and Frank Perry, and organized by tri-lingual Livingston Office Director Aggie Rose, are spirited, determined and outraged at the thought of losing their union to what may be yet another Teamster-grower conspiracy. And there is no doubt that the Gallo workers will win.

June 9, 1973 -- More on the Tenneco today, and other projects.

June 10, 1973 -- I'm almost finished with the Tenneco chart, and I did some work on the files and mail today.

This morning's paper said that George Meany of the AFL-CIO is soon to meet with Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters to see if the grape thing can be resolved. This might be a good sign, but there have been high-level meetings with the Teamsters in the past and things haven't worked out. Also, the price of their agreeing to get out of the grapes may be too high (giving them the lettuce).

The Coachella harvest is still only gradually underway. Because of the cool spring weather, the grapes aren't ripe yet. But it was 122° in Palm Springs the other day. I heard that this week we're going to start paying $90.00 a week to the strikers (up from $75.00) -- which probably means that we're not having too much success getting the strikebreakers out.

June 11, 1973 -- Tonight Cesar was here and we had a community meeting for his report on what's been happening. It was very interesting and realistic. He said that the strike was a good opportunity for us. We had let a lot of things slide. The biggest lesson was that we had to keep doing the very same organizational things with the workers that we did in Delano in 1962-1965 but had stopped doing once we got the contracts, figuring that things would take care of themselves and that we could go on to other business. He didn't elaborate, but he means home meetings, getting the workers together, continually educating them about the "system" and the union, helping solve their problems, and keeping constantly in touch with the workers -- lots of field office people had slacked off on this. So the workers in grapes were never really organized, and we're seeing the results in a strike that's not as successful as it might be.

He also talked about problems in the hiring hall and tricks that the company supervisors use to screw us up, some that he's only recently learned: calling in a work order for 105 people when they actually need 125, so when we fill the order and the 106th worker comes into the hall and the union tells him they can't dispatch him because they have no work orders, the worker goes to the field and the supervisor tells him, "Sure there's work" and that "the union is just trying to fuck him" and then the foreman hires him and 19 more of his favorites -- and that just breeds unrest among the workers for the union and the hall.

Cesar said the way it looks now is that we have a 50-50 chance of winning completely in Coachella (getting all of the growers to get out of their Teamster contracts and sign with us) and a 100% chance of being partially successful (getting some to break with the Teamos and sign with us). He heard this morning that there were expected to be 1,500 workers in the fields but that there were actually only 500 strikebreakers, 30 of whom came out and joined the strike. So it's not excellent, but it looks good.

And he said that everywhere he goes people know what's happening and want to help -- Congressmen on airplanes, stewardesses, telephone operators -- even more than in 1969 and 1970.

June 12, 1973- -- I had a meeting with Cesar this morning and showed him the charts on Tenneco, plus a number of clippings on growers from The Packer (the most important newspaper in the produce industry) with shipping schedules and some other things (which I later sent to Manuel Chavez, who's running a melon strike in Arizona). He liked it.

While I was in with him for ten minutes, a British film crew filmed and taped everything. They're doing a movie on the union (I think for TV) and have been traveling

with him for two or three weeks. (They filmed and taped last night's meeting.) I'm glad I didn't say that the only way to get Tenneco is to blow up their plants and sink their aircraft carriers (which looks like the only way to get them). They're really huge -- #26 in Fortune's 500 -- and have dozens of subsidiaries in gas, oil, chemicals, packaging, manufacturing, and real estate, but they make few consumer goods and so have few targets we can get at with a boycott. But we may get some help from the unions in their factories, especially the Auto Workers.

I also got caught up on the mail and did some things for Richard Chavez in Detroit, who found grapes apparently shipped with a phoney union label (not Freedman or Larson). Also some things for Leroy Chatfield in Los Angeles, who discovered grapes with illegally low sugar content, shipped to get the high $10-12.50 per box early price. He's preparing to sue the grower, a real bastard named Tom Mouradick, who's about 25 and is now president of Cy Mouradick & Sons since his father died last year. He stared at us full of hate in the Palm Springs negotiations in April. His grape label is "Tommy Boy," showing a picture of blond-haired little Tommy in his youth (the son of a bitch).

We have a new person in research with us for the summer: Barbara Pruitt from San Jose, a librarian who's going to put the files and magazines and "library" in order, which will be a big help. She's worked with the local boycott as a supporter there and seems pretty nice, but she has a loud voice.

June 13, 1973 -- Today I got some more letters off, including one to an apparently elderly man in New York who complained that the boycott was responsible for the recent high lettuce prices. I wrote him a two-page letter explaining that crop supply and demand were the biggest factors in produce prices, that a boycott drives the price down not up, and that the workers get the same no matter what lettuce is selling for. Then more messing with the files, and I got a report from Kem and Larry,

6/8/1973

Dear Cesar Chavez

"And we ask that you boycott lettuce etc. etc."
This is a quote from your ad in N.Y. Times of this date,
What Lettuce? who can afford to buy it? have
you priced it recently? Whom are you
hurting, the capitalists? or the poor slobs of the pub-
lic who are denied the simple veg. such as a
head of lettuce. I accuse you for causing these
exorbitant costs for such a humble item
as a head of lettuce. Every time your demonstrators
hand out propaganda in your behalf in front of
markets or stores. The price of those items become
out of reach for us oldsters with moderate income.

Morris Arnstein
1338 Elliot pl. Bronx N.Y. 10452

who are up north near Sacramento investigating the canneries. Then I did some work in the Bakersfield library on wineries and Gallo, with whom we've set a meeting for next Monday. (Today is Wednesday.)

June 14, 1973 -- More work on miscellaneous projects today.

June 15, 1973 -- This morning I talked with Martin Zone from the University of California at Davis, with whom I had earlier spoken. He wants someone from the union to speak at a conference there on how they can help in research for us. I told him that it was a super busy time for all of us and that I couldn't come but that I'd try to put something down in a letter to him. He said, "Fine," and that he'd read it at the conference. I didn't say that I thought it was a lost cause. (UC/Davis is the central research university for growers.)

More work on the files and mail today. I get much more work done when I'm on the road because of all the distractions for laziness here. And I still want to finish a table grape cost and profit study for the San Joaquin Valley and reports on all the growers here, and some other things.

June 16, 1973 -- The Finerman lettuce workers had a conference here today. Negotiations ended after Wednesday's session. I haven't been involved in it, but David told me the company said that unless they get everything they want there was no further use talking. (They want no hiring hall, a long probationary period, stiff management and discharge rights -- and really no union.) This morning a reporter called him from the Salinas Californian for a reaction to Finerman's statement today that the union had cost him hundreds of thousands of dollars by work slowdowns and millions in poor quality of work. David told her that all along the company had been stalling us through nine meetings so they could get their harvest completed during the recent unusually high lettuce market ($7.00 a box to growers, when they usually sell them for

$3.00-3.50). Now that the price has fallen, they've told us to go to hell. So we'll probably strike them Monday.

There have been stories in the press on meetings between Meany and Fitzsimmons to work something out on Coachella. It looks good on the surface but the talk around here is that it might be a sellout. Meany seems to be controlling the discussion and I don't think Cesar is much involved (but I don't know). They might push for a compromise: that the Teamsters get out of grapes but that we let them keep their 169 lettuce contracts -- which we could never do. But something might be worked out. You can never tell.

June 17, 1973 -- My friends from Saint Leo Abbey -- Bob Fucheck and Larry Schuck -- came up today. It was good to see them. They were impressed with La Paz. We also went down to Arvin to a rally for the strikers. Some of our Teamster supporters from the canneries up north were there. They condemned the goons and Fitzsimmons and gave good speeches of solidarity with us. Then we went back to La Paz for a couple of hours to talk some more.

June 18, 1973 -- We met with Gallo again today. Their attitude was different -- much better than the last meeting two weeks ago. The discussions and the kinds of things company spokesman Detrick said were reasonable and make it look good. It was our turn to respond, so we gave him a few things. It's his turn at our next meeting on Wednesday, two days from now. We're down to the nitty-gritty contract issues (recognition, hiring hall, management rights clause, seniority, union security, access, subcontracting, and a few others) -- so we should see Wednesday whether he's serious. But you can never tell. No problems with the Teamsters there for the past month.

I finished the letter today for Martin Zone at UC/Davis. He wants to read it at a conference on agricultural research there this Friday.

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

June 18, 1973

Martin Zone
Department of Applied Behavioral Science
212 Walker Hall
University of California -- Davie
Davis, California

Dear Martin:

I'm glad to hear there are a number of people who want to help the union with research at Davis. I'm sorry I can't attend your conference, but maybe the following thoughts might be helpful.

First of all, as you must know, the United Farm Workers and many others regard UC-Davis as an instrument of the growers -- a research subsidy to go along with their water subsidy, tax subsidy, labor subsidy, and direct payments subsidy. A very nice set-up, paid for by the taxpayers. What I hear you saying is that there are people at David who want to change this, people who are asking, "What can we do?"

I suppose there are three approaches you could take:

1. Stop the machines. It seems to us that the model your research specialists are aiming toward is the 40,000-acre Superior Farming Company, whose computerized and automated grove heaters, drip irrigation systems, and mechanical harvesters have produced a "marvel of technology applied to agriculture." But what's been the cost in people's jobs and lives? "Efficiency" apparently has no room for farm workers.

We know what a close relationship outfits like Superior have with UC-Davis. We've seen the bumper stickers in the Viticulture Department -- "Eat California Grapes, the Forbidden Fruit" and "Chavez Eats Grapes." That doesn't surprise us. We know where you're at. And we don't object to efficiency in agriculture. But we do reject irresponsible "efficiency" which gives no care for the lives of the farm workers who, like the growers, make their living in agriculture.

We're not so naive as to believe that this cold-hearted research

apparatus could be halted, but you and our supporters there know the university better than we do, and you may have some ideas on that.

At least there could be pressure to force the growers to pay for their own research, rather than feed off the taxpayers. Farm workers are taxpayers, too. What is Davis doing with their tax money other than using it to destroy them? The rationale that such research helps promote agricultural efficiency and increase the nation's food supply and thus is "good for America" is a phoney one. Would factory workers tolerate a government grant to General Motors to study ways to increase efficiency by eliminating their jobs? Research should be done to promote jobs not eliminate employment. The public's money should be used to benefit the public.

2. See that genuine consideration is given to farm workers. Agricultural economists and grower research specialists always seem to speak of them as "farm labor," a "cost factor" to be reduced or eliminated. So if they're just a commodity to be evaluated and dealt with, no one has to consider farm workers as people. And clearly those grower researchers don't.

But perhaps you could bring some real consideration to bear for the effect of that research on farm workers.

We know that many of the mechanical harvesters are not designed to save money for the growers and in fact are not cheaper to operate than harvesting by hand. Their real purpose is to get rid of farm workers so the growers can escape from the farm workers' union. That's no secret. The growers cry, "Chavez is coming! Give us machines!" And the university obliges.

The effect on farm workers needs to be considered. I'm not suggesting a token farm worker representative on the committees that decide these things. When Arizona passed its right-wing anti-union law last

summer, Governor Jack Williams was quick to offer a seat on his five-member Agricultural Labor Relations Board to the UFW, who would have joined two growers, a Teamster, and a "neutral" representative of the public, who would have set down rules by a 4-1 vote to destroy the farm workers' union in Arizona. We rejected his generous offer, just as we would have done the proposal Ronald Reagan was ready to make had Proposition 22 passed last fall.

In the past year or two, ecology groups have pressured government to force industry to undertake "environmental impact studies" before any reckless construction is publicly funded. I don't know if those things are really any good, but at least they force a consciousness of the environment. Maybe you could push to see that "farm worker impact studies" are done and that no research proceeds which would take away their jobs and wreck havoc with their lives.

And you may know other tactics which would force the university to give genuine consideration to the effect of its research on farm workers.

3. Use the resources of the university to help farm workers. We have found in our eleven years of organizing that we are only successful when we have power. The forces farm workers are up against are powerful and entrenched -- the growers, the politicians who cater to them (especially the Republicans), the company unions they fabricate (especially the Teamsters), and the public institutions they manipulate (especially universities like Davis).

Our goal is to organize the two and a half million farm workers in the United States. The weapons we have are the power of our members to strike and the power of our supporters across the country to boycott those commodities to bring economic pressure to force those growers to recognize the right of the farm workers they employ to have the union of

their choice. Appeals to reason, morality, and democracy are useless. They only understand economic power.

Obviously, knowledge is a kind of power, too. And you're sitting on a gold mine of information at UC-Davis. What we need is anything which will enhance our power to deal with the forces we're up against. I don't mean studies of farm worker attitudes or re-training programs. Farm workers don't want to be re-trained. They want to live and work in dignity. And that's the fundamental purpose of the union.

You must know, better than we do, what sources of information you have that would help us understand this agricultural complex and deal with it more effectively.

Those of you who support us can be helpful in our success, and we welcome your assistance. Stop the machines, if you can. See that genuine consideration is given to the effect on farm workers of the research your university is doing. And as a public institution, share with us the information you're producing on American agriculture. We're part of agriculture, too. And our union is here to stay.

Martin:

I hope this is along the lines of what you wanted. I'm reluctant to be more candid about specific things we're interested in because of the public nature of the conference, but I was serious when I suggested that you may know better than we do what would be helpful to us. I'd like to talk with you at more length and I think it would be a good idea if you could come down to La Paz. Why don't you write or call me (805 822-5571) about your plans. Thanks for the support.

Sincerely,

Jim Horgan
Research Director

June 19, 1973 -- Today I spent most of the time working on a list of the 60 or so canneries in California the Teamsters have under contract with 26 companies, including all the big ones: Del Monte, Libby. Dole, Hunt, Gerber, Borden, etc. Their 1970 contracts for the inside cannery workers expire on June 30, 1973. We're thinking that when the Teamsters renew them, they'll also try to get all the farm workers on the lands owned by these companies and especially the ones who work for the growers who sell their tomatoes and peaches and vegetables and other stuff to these canneries. We've been working for the past five or six weeks, especially Larry and Kem up north, in trying to find out who these growers are. And our people have been out in the fields organizing the workers, especially in tomatoes, signing them up, just as the Teamsters have been doing. So today I put together a 12-page list of all the names and addresses of the companies and their chief officers (from the various directories we have) and we sent each of the companies a letter demanding recognition for their farm workers. We're going to follow it up with a letter to each of the individual growers also, as soon as we get their names and addresses (which K & L are working on).

The news from Coachella the past couple of days is that there are 3,000+ strikebreakers in the fields -- less than the growers really need but more than we'd like. But they're virtually all inexperienced pickers: school kids and Anglos from the cities.

I also pulled together our information on Superior Farming Company, whom we also may be taking on with a strike soon.

Tomorrow it's Gallo again for our twelfth session. It's not looking too bad, but still no urgency or pressure on him to compromise and settle things our way.

June 20, 1973 -- Today we met with Gallo again -- very bad. Detrick talked only about three issues. Union security -- he criticized the current situation, with the

union judging the good standing of our members and having the right to have them suspended from work if they don't pay their dues (and some few are late with their payments). He said that the company had to protect their workers from us! And on the Hiring Hall, he said we couldn't have it -- the company had to decide who its workers would be, when they would work, and what their qualifications would be. And on seniority, he said the company had to have exclusive charge of determining the seniority ranking of its workers -- again, to protect them against us. His tone was very sugary but it was a real insult -- that the company is the protector of the rights of the workers, not the union. And it amounted to an ultimatum. He wouldn't discuss any other issues till we resolved these.

So we left after the 40-minute meeting, agreeing to call him when we were ready to meet again. Gallo is really trying to screw us, now that we're deeply involved in Coachella and the Teamsters. There's no urgency for him to settle with us and no pressure on him. So he won't do anything to our interest until there is. Since it's hard for us to boycott now, we can't strike him effectively till his harvest starts about August 15. So that may have been our last negotiating meeting for a while.

Our friend Lionel Steinberg had an interview published in the Fresno Bee the other day. He said some interesting things. The headline is: "A Coachella Grower Finds UFW Pact Pays."

June 21, 1973 -- Lots of grass fires in Kern County today because of the heat (112°+), including two in the Keene area -- one yesterday afternoon along the highway near La Paz and another yesterday evening and all night long in the hills a mile and a half or so away from here but moving in the other direction. It's an impressive sight at night -- not so much a forest fire in trees, but grass in the hills.

I typed out the notes on yesterday's session with Gallo and did some work on

Superior Farming Company. And this morning I spoke with Cesar twice by phone to Coachella to give him some information on Superior. They've got 40,000 acres, including 21,000+ in crops, especially fruit trees, which are vulnerable to a strike (peaches, plums, nectarines), so we'll be hitting them soon.

June 22, 1973 -- Today I drove up to Fresno and Madera to check more on Superior Farming Company. They have 2,000 or so acres of peaches, plums, and nectarines in that area -- very vulnerable to a strike -- and Cesar wants to take them on, since we're hitting Superior in Coachella and Delano right now.

I also stopped off in Fresno for two movies: "The Last of Sheila" and "Rage" (with George C. Scott).

We just got a new person to help with research -- Steve Ramirez, a student from Berkeley who seems pretty sharp. Larry and Kem are still up north working on the canneries. Yesterday I got a list of 300 tomato growers (80% or so of all those in the state) and so today we sent them all a certified letter (at 70 cents apiece) telling them we represented their workers and asking for negotiations. That should shake them up. We have been doing some organizing up there, as have the Teamsters.

June 23, 1973 -- We're sitting in a park in Selma in a meeting with Cesar and 50 or so workers from the major table grape ranches here (D'Arrigo, Barr, Ito, Sorensen, Ballentine, Superior), most of whom we're striking.

What's being discussed is a general strike of all tree fruit in this area (peaches, nectarines, plums, apricots, pears, apples), most of whose growers we've never had under contract. The main reason is to get Superior Farming Company.

We've been looking at his land in Fresno and Madera Counties all day today. Cesar wanted to see all of Superior's holdings, since tree fruit is a very vulnerable crop because it has to be picked within a short period of time. We're striking

Superior's grapes in Coachella and 20,000 acres of grapes and trees in Delano, so we wanted to hit all his trees here, too.

So we left La Paz this morning at 8:30 in two cars -- Cesar, Helen Chavez, one of their grandchildren, Carlos LeGerrette the driver, and me (plus "Boycott" and "Huelga") in the station wagon, and four of the guards in the car following. I gave Cesar a rundown as we drove along on all we know about Superior, and also some other things we'd been working on. He was very good with three-year-old Theresa, who calls him "Ta-Ta" (and Helen "Na-Na"). Helen asked her if she was going to help picket Safeway, and she said yes. So Cesar asked her what she was going to say, and she said: "Chavez Si! Teamsters No!" Then we dropped Helen and Theresa off in Delano and drove up to Selma to see Joe Rubio, the field office director, and the Superior workers.

On the way, Cesar talked a little bit about Coachella, and Richard Ybarra (his son-in-law and head of the security department) told me that yesterday in Coachella, ten Teamsters on a flat-bed truck got behind their three-car caravan (a lead car, Cesar's station wagon, and a following car with two or three guards) and started throwing large rocks at them. They missed the station wagon but really pummeled the car they were behind -- all kinds of dents on the roof and fenders. But they got hold of the police and the Teamsters were arrested. We heard on the radio this morning that six had been arrested on felony charges and were released on $10,000 bail each -- which is pretty good. When he heard that, Cesar said he didn't think it should be a felony. But Richard said it was because the cars were moving (and thus they could have been killed).

No comments on Fitzsimmons and Meany, even though I threw him a feeler by saying I had seen a couple of stories in the Fresno Bee and that they were really

playing it up, saying some agreement was near. But he did say that we heard from Safeway that they would have an "important announcement" in the next week or so. They told that to one of the boycotters in LA when one of their managers came out and said they were carrying UFW table grapes (which was true) -- so maybe they will give us an agreement.

They're certainly feeling the pressure. I read in the paper the other day that in Phoenix and Tucson, where Safeway sued us because the secondary boycott is illegal (Governor Jack Williams got the law enacted last summer, which sparked our recall campaign), court testimony showed how damaging the boycott has been. The Safeway district representative said that the four or five stores we had been boycotting had lost a total of $60,000 in the past month. The court granted an injunction, so now in Arizona we can say: "Don't Buy Non-Union Lettuce and Non-Union Grapes" (a primary boycott). But we can't say: "Don't Shop at Safeway" (a secondary boycott).

We spent a half-hour or so in Selma, where Cesar made seven or eight phone calls (to Coachella, to Dolores in New York, to Leroy Chatfield in Los Angeles, and so on) and met with the eight Superior workers there.

Marshall Ganz, who's running the strike in Coachella, reported that there was another battle today. There wasn't much grape picking, since it's Saturday, so our pickets went over to one of the grape growers' asparagus fields, where two crews (100 or so people) were working. Our people went right into the field to talk with the workers (as they've been doing for the past ten days or so -- getting arrested for tresspass but intimidating the strikebreakers). But this time it was a trap. Teamsters were hiding in the vines next to the asparagus field and rushed at our people, slugging them with clubs, etc., and our people also fighting back. Many arrests of us and them, and injuries (but none serious I think).

Then we finally piled into four cars -- 16 of us altogether -- and took off to look at Superior's land. I had all the maps with me, and with us also was Gabriel Verdusco, a foreman at Superior who knew where all the ranches were and is a strong union member (having worked in table grapes before). So we looked at 200 acres of peaches, nectarines, and plums in Fresno, most of which had already been harvested. They've been picking here for the past week and a half.

Then we drove up to Madera County and looked at 1,500 or so acres of tree fruit in seven or eight locations, most of which has not yet been harvested. Cesar was eager to see it all, so we even went all over the private roads of one large 500-acre ranch, and we found nectarines, plums, pears, apples, and apricots -- most of it not picked yet.

We drove around all afternoon, quite a sight in our four-car caravan. A supervisor followed us for a while at one place, where people were working.

About 5:00 p.m., when we had finished looking at the ranches, we happened to be near Biola, where Cesar had worked with his family picking raisin grapes as migrants in 1939, 1940, and 1941. So we went out to the place where they used to camp -- a couple of acres under some trees by the side of the road. It was all still there, even the outhouse and water pump. No buildings. They had just pitched a tent. So we stopped and he told us all about it -- how they were paid 1 3/4 cents a tray in those days and could pick about 200 trays a day each. It was really absorbing. He seemed nostalgic about it and surprised that it had been 34 years ago.

Then we went over to Roeding Park on Belmont in Fresno. Lots of people there, but not overly crowded, and a rock concert going on. We all sat around and discussed Superior and the prospects for a strike there. The eight workers favored the idea and felt it would be successful, but Cesar suggested talking with more workers to see if we

could bring off a general tree fruit strike. He feared that a strike against only Superior might turn into another White River Farms, where we picked on one guy and all the other growers came to his assistance, and thus the strike wasn't as successful as it might have been.

Then after a haf-hour there, we made some calls to get the local ranch committees together at the park in Selma (a half-hour to the south) and we went down there for this meeting.

While we were waiting, Cesar worked with his dogs "Boycott" and "Huelga," which is always intriguing to watch. They're really well trained and followed his commands.

Then we had this meeting of 50 ranch committee representatives (during which I'm writing) for 45 minutes or so. The workers approved the idea for a geneal strike, saying they would help organize it and get the workers out.

It looks as if we're taking on more fights than we can handle, but apparently money from the AFL-CIO is unlimited, for the next few months anyway, and Cesar sees this as a way to do some good and organize the workers.

On the drive back to La Paz, we almost stopped off in Delano to shoot one table of pool, but Cesar thought better of it since he has to leave early tomorrow for a rally somewhere. The driver, Carlos LeGerrette, asked him when was the last time he had driven a car? Cesar said 1965 or 1966. He doesn't have time or interest, I guess. Then Carlos asked him if he had to organize East LA -- the Chicano Harlem -- what issues would he organize around? Cesar answered: "I don't know. The people would tell me. They know what the issues are."

We got back to La Paz at 10:30 p.m. It was quite a day.

June 24, 1973 -- Today I typed up some more Gallo notes and straightened the

files.

The Coachella strike is apparently not going too well. They're getting their harvest in and the violence is heating up.

All kinds of fire fighters have been camping in Keene just outside La Paz for the past two or three days, battling a large fire near here, where a man was killed the other day.

June 25, 1973 -- We were listening to John Dean's testimony on the radio most of the day. I wish I could have seen it on television. I think he really nailed Nixon and that gang, and even if nothing else comes of it, at least it's out and people know.

In between listening to that, I messed around with the files and did a report on Franzia Brothers Winery for Dolores Huerta in New York to help her put some pressure on their two principal stockholders, who are Eastern liberal Republicans concerned about their image.

The Coachella strike is still holding up and we have 1,000 pickets, but the growers are getting their grapes harvested more or less anyway.

Larry and Kem came back tonight after being on the road for the past month on the canneries, finding out a lot of information.

The only negotiations in sight are with a small grape grower in Fresno -- Roy Sneds, a pretty good guy, and Novitiate of Los Gatos, a winery run by the Jesuits, whose contract is up June 30. So we'll see about them.

June 26, 1973 -- Today we got a telegram from Gallo telling us they are in negotiations with the Teamsters. The workers also got a letter. So Cesar said to strike tomorrow, which they'll do. Those bastards are all together in this.

David Burciaga was telling me yesterday that he's heard that all kinds of people are calling the Kern County Elections Department and asking what party he's

registered with, and also Cesar and Dolores and other union people. I gues they're trying to see if it's the Socialist Workers Party or something, so they can put together red-baiting dossiers on us.

I spoke to Dolores in New York this afternoon to tell her about Gallo (which Cesar had already done) and to give her some information on Franzia Brothers.

And I tried to get hold of one of our people in Delano who has all kinds of precinct lists and election material from last fall. Cesar is thinking about recalling Judge John McNally of McFarland-Delano, who's been really harsh on strike injunctions and high bail for striker arrests. He asked me to do a voter pattern study on that district to see if we have a chance to recall him.

From the lists that Kem and Larry brought back, we're getting out letters to 250 more tomato growers and 1,500 or so peach growers (at 58 cents each for certified mail). A group of 15-20 young Quaker volunteers (from the American Friends Service Committee) have come up to La Paz to work for a month or so, so they can help in typing the envelopes and addresses.

June 27, 1973 -- We heard today that Gallo announced he had not signed with the Teamsters, as we had believed at first. So we may have some chance left with him.

I spent the day putting together a chronology of all that's happened with Gallo (for Cesar, the boycotters, and whatever other uses we can make of it).

Lots of violence in Coachella. The Teamsters are just beating up everyone.

About 85-90% of the 175 Gallo workers are out on strike and we're getting good press coverage there. There is no way that Gallo can say that the Teamsters represent their workers.

We're still listening every day to Dean's testimony. It's really something.

June 28, 1973 -- We just finished a meeting on security. Thirty or forty

Top: Cesar Chavez's German Shepherds "Boycott" and "Huelga" -- Cochella, California, April 15, 1973.

Center: Jim Horgan and Gallo strikers -- Livingston, California, June 29, 1973.

Bottom: The UFW research department: Kem Goethe, Jim Horgan, Larry Gurel -- Tolleson, Arizona, February 12, 1973.

Teamster goons from Coachella have moved up to this area for the strike in Arvin-Lamont. This morning we had a picket line of 150 people strung out along the road and only one sheriff's car. Then the famous Teamster flat-bed truck (the one they threw rocks at Cesar from, the one that Teamsters travel around on in Coachella El Malcriado ran a photo) showed up and 25 Teamster thugs jumped off and started going down the picket line slugging everyone. Mike Falco, the guy who broke John Bank's nose, sent a 60-year-old man to the hospital. And three others were hospitalized.

All the Teamsters were arrested, after several more cops arrived. Then the workers went down to Bakersfield and picketed the Kern County Sheriff's office, demanding more protection, which has been assured for tomorrow and the future. If not, we'll shut down the lines, at least till we get better protection.

Several people from La Paz were on the picket line and got hit. I wasn't there, but La Paz today was buzzing with the stories. So tonight we all discussed security precautions in a meeting run by Jerry Cohen -- always traveling with two or three people in a car; driving on main public highways, not back roads; and on the picket line taking refuge in cars, not the vines; and not having a picket line without adequate police protection; and helping La Paz security at night by standing watch. We're really dealing with animals. People are pretty apprehensive. The workers in Arvin and Lamont, too. But it's not paranoia. People are experienced enough, with all that we've been through, to take precautions. So we'll all be careful.

Today I finished the Gallo chronology and got the word on the strike -- 90% of the 175 workers at the three ranches are out and Gallo hasn't attempted to send in strikebreakers. David spent most of the afternoon calling the Associated Press, the Fresno Bee, church people, and others, for a press conference in Livingston tomorrow at 10:00 a.m. We're driving up tomorrow morning, and he'll use the chronology I put

together to catalogue Gallo's dealings with the Teamsters.

June 29, 1973 -- Today David and I drove up to see how things were going with the Gallo strike. It looks very good. About 120 of the 150 workers are out, with only one Mexican worker, 10-15 Anglos, and 10-15 Portuguese still working. It's not essential work -- just suckering -- but the strikers are really solid. Gallo has not tried to break the strike yet by recruiting other workers, nor has he yet met with the Teamsters.

In the afternoon we went up for an interview with the Modesto Bee. (Modesto is Gallo's headquarters -- an enormous winery, which I showed David.)

The Arvin-Lamont line had 500 pickets today and plenty of sheriffs' protection. No Teamster goons in sight. We heard they went back to Coachella.

Shipments from Coachella are said to be still running 80,000-100,000 boxes a day (but those figures may be false) and the prices quoted today were $6.50-7.00 a box for first labels (the best quality) and $5.50-6.00 for second labels. The break-even price for the grower is $7.50+. So they're surely losing money.

June 30, 1973 -- More miscellaneous projects today.

This evening several of us leafleted at one of the Safeways in Bakersfield, using a flyer based on a memo I put together on Safeway's agricultural ties. It also contains Safeway's own leaflet, which the chain had been giving to shoppers several weeks ago, claiming non-involvement and neutrality.

Then I drove over to Santa Maria near the ocean, 2 1/2 hours west of La Paz. Hub Segur, who used to work in our central boycott office in research, asked me over. He's there studying pesticide applications by the growers and their violations of the law, especially on having the workers enter the fields before the legal waiting period is up. We're planning suits against them.

SAFEWAY SPOON-FEEDS LIES TO CONSUMERS

HELP US HELP THE FARM WORKERS!

Dear Safeway Customer:

We don't make baby food.

We don't hire any workers who do.

We don't tell the baby food manufacturers who they should employ.

We sell baby food because many of our customers want it.

By the same token:

We don't grow produce.

We don't hire any farm workers.

We don't tell the growers who to employ.

We sell produce, including lettuce and grapes, because our customers should be able to purchase these items if they wish.

FARM WORKERS are good citizens and good customers. We want to see them get a fair shake. They should have the right to participate in collective bargaining, and to have a vote regarding their own working terms and conditions. Farm workers deserve the same rights as other American workers already enjoy. Pickets, boycotts and lawsuits are not the answer. Legislation is!

HELP US HELP THE FARM WORKERS. Write or call your State Assemblyman / State Senator and let them know how you feel.

SEE BACK OF THIS PAPER FOR LIST OF STATE SENATORS AND STATE ASSEMBLYMEN REPRESENTING DISTRICTS IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.

MEMORANDUM

To: Safeway Customer
Re: Safeway and Agribusiness

Safeway's ties to agribusiness come chiefly through the members of its small Board of Directors. Of its seven board members, three have direct ties to major agricultural operations:

1. J. G. Boswell II, elected to the board in 1956, is the largest individual (non-corporate) landowner in California, with 108,800 acres around Corcoran, principally in cotton and grapes, with annual sales of $50 million. His principal notoreity comes from the fact that for years he led the list of federal crop subsidy recepients. Between 1967 and 1971 he received $21.4 million, mainly in cotton allotments, and in 1969 he set an all-time record by getting a $5,013,663 welfare payment from the government. He also owns 10,000 acres of cotton in Australia and receives that country's largest subsidy.

2. Ernest C. Arbuckle is a member of Safeway's board and is also a Director of Castle & Cook, Inc., which operates Dole Pineapple Company, has extensive sugar holdings in Hawaii, controls Standard Fruit and Steamship Company ("Cabana" bananas) and Bumble Bee seafoods.

3. Robert A. Magowan, Safeway board member, also sits on the board of the Foundation for American Agriculture, which includes representatives from growers (Sunkist, Cotton Producers Association, and others), suppliers (Spencer Chemical, Funk Brothers Seed, Acheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe RR and others), and growers' organizations (American Farm Bureau Federation, National Grange, and others).

In addition, Safeway Board Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Quentin Reynolds also sits on the board of the California State Chamber of Commerce which has released as many bitter attacks on the farm workers union as the Farm Bureau.

Besides these things, a fact sheet on Safeway also points out a number of anti-union and agricultural activities:

1. Safeway supported the Associated Farmers, a union-busting, terrorist, vigilante outfit of the 1930's with $3,835 in contribution from 1935 to 1939.

2. During the 1950's, three Safeway executives served as administrative assistants to Ezra Taft Benson, then Secretary of Agriculture.

3. In 1956, then Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz quashed a USDA investigation of Safeway for price-fixing.

4. Safeway was the main buyer of Giumarra's grapes during the first grape boycott and was the only major chain to refuse cooperation.

5. Its Vice President Calvin Pond headed the company's qualifying drive for Proposition 22 at its Oakland headquarters.

6. Safeway is the largest buyer of western iceberg lettuce -- about 1,000,000 heads a year (3,900 carlots), almost all of it non-union.

July 1973

July 1, 1973 -- I spent the day (Sunday) in Santa Maria again. It's close to the Pacific with a setting quite different from the San Joaquin Valley -- lots of morning fog and 40° at night, while it's 110° in Bakersfield 120 miles away.

We've had a strike against a strawberry grower here -- Security Farms, run by a Japanese grower named Menami. Last week, Paulino Pacheco, head of our Santa Maria field office, was knocked unconscious when Menami gave him two or three karate chops in the chest and one in the side of the head.

I spent the day talking with Hub Segur, who's been with the union since 1969 and is planning to go to UC/Davis next fall to work on a Ph. D. in agricultural economics. He wanted to discuss possible thesis topics that would help the union. We talked about targets -- the lettuce industry, strawberries, corporate farming -- but he's most interested in mechanization: seeing if he can develop a coherent study to meet the problem realistically, figuring that the machines are going to come and we have to plan some way to handle the machine issue in a way that preserves workers' jobs.

We also went out to a steak and chicken barbecue wedding reception in the park for one of our members. I also made some major button deals, using the famous Florida "floating heads" (Kennedy, King, and Zapata), which is a rare button out here and much sought after by the workers.

Yesterday I called Lionel Steinberg from La Paz to get some figures from him on the inspection service. I also told him I liked the Fresno Bee article on him a couple of weeks ago. He said it was a good story "except for the last paragraph" (where Jerry Cohen had said: "Lionel Steinberg's liberalism is a function of his political ambition and ends at his pocketbook.") Steinberg told me he has an answer for the press the next time they call: "What Cesar Chavez needs is a smart Jewish lawyer." (Steinberg and

A Coachella Grower Finds UFW Pact Pays

Fresno Bee - June 12, 1973

By George L. Baker
Fresno Bee Staff Writer

COACHELLA — Lionel Steinberg, the biggest table grape grower in the Coachella Valley with 1,000 acres, is used to going his own way.

So it was not surprising when he and another grower were the only two who chose to renew their labor contracts with the United Farm Workers Union, AFL-CIO, (UFW) in April when some 30 other growers signed with the Teamsters Union.

Steinberg, who makes business decisions the way he talks in interviews — with measured caution and deliberation, says he was contractually and philosophically obligated to renew his UFW contract.

But there are others who say Steinberg's decision was coldbloodedly businesslike; that he forsaw the bitter Teamsters-UFW battle and wanted to avoid both a potentially disastrous strike and boycott that hit growers so hard in the late 1960s.

If that was part of his intentions, it has thus far paid off.

While UFW pickets have fringed other growers' fields and cries of "boycott table grapes" have filled the air, Steinberg goes about the harvest unperturbed.

Growers who signed with the Teamsters maintain they have had few problems obtaining sufficient supplies of labor and that the UFW boycott will be ineffective. With the harvest only about 10 per cent completed it is too early to tell what the outcome will be.

But going his own way is nothing new for Steinberg, whose liberalism is something of an oddity in California's basically conservative agricultural establishment.

"I reach decisions on the basis of facts and if that puts me by myself, I don't feel uncomfortable," he said in an interview at his Thermal ranch headquarters. "I like to think of myself as an independent thinker."

Steinberg has been an independent thinker most of his 53 years. He was born and reared in Fresno, was graduated from the then Fresno State College and was active in Fresno Democratic politics.

After his stepfather, David Freedman, died in the early 1950s, Steinberg took over David Freedman, Inc., and moved here permanently in 1958.

He lives in Palms Springs, 24 miles away, where he rubs elbows with many of the desert community's celebrities. Occasionally Steinberg dabbles in art as either a collector or

See Coachella Page A1

Coachella: A Grower's Contract With UFW

Continued from Page A1

dealer, a rather atypical occupation of a farmer.

In the early 1950s, Steinberg helped rejuvenate the moribund Fresno County Democratic Central Committee, served as president of the California Young Democrats and had a hand in forming the liberal California Democratic Council.

This put him at odds with such conservative party leaders as former State Sen. Hugh M. Burns of Fresno, but Steinberg continued to support such liberal candidates as Adlai Stevenson and John F. Kennedy. He was rewarded with several high-level presidential commission appointments but was "very much dissappointed" when he was not appointed an assistant secretary of agriculture in 1960 under Orval Freeman.

In 1970 he was the state's first table grape grower to sign a contract with labor leader Cesar Chavez, a decision which still is controversial among some growers.

"I think I was less popular then, in 1970, than I am now," he said. "I wouldn't say I'm the most popular grower in town. Certainly there were risks, though, attached to my decision (to sign this year). Some of my fellow growers felt I was doing the wrong thing."

The risks he refers to were the

Lionel Steinberg

fear of "retribution" by the Teamsters who, with their control of the trucking, packing and freight loading industries, can mount their own boycott, illegal though it would be.

But he has only praise for the way the Teamsters have treated him. They have been "cordial and polite in dealing with me" he said.

His decision to sign with the UFW was based also on the fact that the majority of his workers favored the Chavez-led movement.

But he has been critical of the way Chavez has run his union and conducted his negotiations.

"Cesar Chavez had great integrity and honor; he is a world figure, a man I did like and still like. But he has proved to be unable or unwilling to administer the complex problems of developing a trade union on the farm," he said.

"His hiring hall, while recognizing it was an innovation and difficult to bring to the farm, was staffed with totally inexperienced young people who felt they had received a charter from Chavez to impose their own concepts of social and agrarian reforms."

Seniority Basis

The hiring hall dispatches workers to fields on the basis of seniority. Without a dispatch card obtained at the hall, workers cannot work on farms where UFW contracts are in force.

Instead of making the table grape industry a model for other crops "he left administration in the hand of arrogant contract enforcers," Steinberg said. "We ended up spending 20 to 25 per cent of our time in dealing with complex, imagined and real grievances."

Steinberg concedes that table grape growers on the whole had "two very profitable" years in 1971 and 1972, but he says this was in spite of, not because of, the union.

To make the hiring hall more palatable, Chavez agreed in his new contract to a hall administered and paid for jointly by the union and the grower.

Steinberg still maintains he has not been able to get enough workers through the hall during the past weeks' harvest.

Union officials scoffed at Steinberg's criticism and attributed it to his attempt to placate both his fellow growers and the Teamsters.

"Lionel has more labor than he needs," said Chavez. "He's going to end up with a $1 premium on his grapes."

Steinberg disputes this and says he is receiving any more money for his grapes it is only because he has a tradition of "growing high quality grapes."

But the most caustic comment came from UFW attorney Jerry Cohen who said, "Lionel Steinberg's liberalism is a function of his political ambition and ends at his pocketbook."

Cohen are both Jewish.) When I asked him, he also said he was having no trouble getting his grapes harvested or marketed. No Teamster boycott or refusal to unload, which is good.

July 2, 1973 -- All I did this morning was drive back from Santa Maria and mess around with the mail. I was just kind of tired.

Susan Drake told me that 20 of our strikers picketing a melon field near Arvin were arrested today for violating an injunction which limited it to ten pickets. They put 20 on for protection, since it's a remote, isolated area. The Teamster goons haven't been around since last Thursday, and there've been plenty of sheriffs' cars.

July 3, 1973 -- No really new developments in the strikes. On Gallo, I got a call from Aggie Rose today. She said a delegation of six priests and nuns had had a meeting with R. J. Gallo this morning. He said he would agree to an election if both we and the Teamsters agreed to have one or if there were a law requiring one -- which means he doesn't want an election, since the Teamsters don't want one. It looks like we have 85-90 workers on strike, with 30-40 working and no heavy attempt to break it.

Then Pete Velasco called from Stockton about Franzia Brothers. They told him they would no longer observe the contract, which expired April 18 (no RFK payments, no grievance procedure, no seniority, etc.) and that they want to meet with us on negotiations. But that probably won't lead anywhere, since they'll follow Gallo.

Then this afternoon, Martin Zone from the University of California at Davis came down here to talk about research there. He said that the letter I had sent him outlining our thoughts had really gone over well at the conference ten days ago, so I filled him in on specifics as to what we could use: targets, information on growers, specific acreage and profits, and things like that. He might be able to help, but the only way we really find things out is through our own full-time people.

Kem and Larry have been working for more than a week with two or three American Friends volunteers on getting out notices to 2,000 peach and tomato growers -- what an arduous project.

July 4, 1973 -- Today I worked on a report on Franzia Brothers, a fairly small operation but really growing in size (from 1,100 to 5,100 acres) and profit. They'll follow Gallo, so we'll have to boycott them.

And I finally got around to start typing the notes from our May 10 meeting with strawberry grower Anthony Grcich. He's really a colorful character and the talks were interesting. He did finally agree to a contract.

We had movies at La Paz tonight, both of which I had seen, and they're excellent on the union: "Decision at Delano" and "Si Se Puede." Only three people were here -- 20 or so had gone off to Tehachepi for Fourth of July fireworks.

I saw Manuel Chavez here last week, just passing through on the way to who knows where. A month or so ago he was running a cantaloupe strike in Yuma, Arizona. There were some problems because it started right before the harvest rather than in the middle of the harvest. When cantaloupes are ripe, they're very vulnerable to a strike because they have to be picked within a few days or they rot. But to reach the vulnerability stage, as the workers say, "You have to get the field hot" -- which means you cut for a few days, and that quickly brings all the melons into maturity and they then have to be harvested every day within a short period or they get overripe. The strike started "before the field was hot." So the crop didn't mature for harvest as quickly, and the strike wasn't as effective, and we got no contracts. It happens every year. This was about our fifth one. Cesar calls it "the annual Arizona cantaloupe strike." At least it forces wages up.

The Arizona grape strike is apparently pretty successful. Cesar went over there

Mr. Emil Peters
Chief of Police
San Antonio, Texas

Dear Chief Peters:

We please ask for your immediate intervention in the following matter involving the San Antonio Police Dept.

Supporters of the United Farm Workers, AFL-CIO began picketing Deluxe Food Stores, located at 5103 S. Flores and 4107 Blanco, here in San Antonio.

However, on almost every occasion that we have picketed, police have come, talked to the management of Deluxe, and then threatened us with arrest under the Texas Mass Picketing Law.

This law has been declared unconstitutional in Mandrano vs. Allee, and a memo recognizing this has been issued by the SAPD in conjunction with the City Attorney. The police, however, continue to quote this law, and some officers have been rude. Saturday, June 9, four picketers were given citations at Deluxe, 4107 Blanco for alleged violation of this same picketing law.

We consider this a form of harassment by which the management of Deluxe uses the San Antonio Police Dept. to interrupt a legal picket line.

At all times our picketers have been orderly and polite. Consistent with the non-violent philosphy of Cesar Chavez, we have never and will never commit acts of violence. We do not resort to abusive or obscene language. In no way do we prevent people from entering or leaving the parking lots of the stores.

This is a city of some 300,000 Mexican-Americans, many of whom suffer racial and economic discrimination. All they ask is to protest within the framework of law and order, and the U.S. Constitution. For the police to turn on a racial minority obeying the law is the worst kind of racial injustice.

We affirm our constitutional right to picket and will continue to do so. We here invoke the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in our behalf. We will begin picketing again Wednesday, June 13, 1973.

If you wish, we can bring to your office sworn affidavits concerning each of the events and actions by SAPD officers. Please feel free to contact us. Thank you.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Irene Ramos Chandler
UFW Boycott staff
San Antonio, Texas

COW PIES

Edited by Jim Horgan, Research Department

For the past few weeks, the grower press has been failing all over itself, rejoicing in the Teamster sell-out of farm workers. "The Packer" (April 28,1973) never imagining the AFL-CIO's $1,600,000 pledge of support, ran an editorial entitled "Cesar Chavez' Last Stand":

"Cesar Chavez, the original pioneer in trying to organize agriculture field workers, may be 'washed up' as a union leader....One of his problems in the future may be lack of financial backing....George Meany and the AFL-CIO members, who have contributed heavily to the UFW's coffers the past few years, will surely begin to ask themselves why the UFW could not hold the grape contracts--why growers would rather risk another costly boycott of their product than have to deal with Chavez a day longer.

The grape growers have been profitable the past couple years. Why would they want out of a profitable situation unless something is seriously wrong with the contracts, or with the union?...

Perhaps Chavez' problem is that the UFW movement is really more of a social movement than a labor movement. Being a martyr and hero of liberals does not necessarily make one a good labor leader. Sophisticated management is required in labor unions. The Teamsters have it; the UFW does not....

The Teamsters have honored all contracts; the UFW has not."

The Bakersfield Californian (April 25,1973) dismissed the farm workers' union as 'more shadow than substance' and in a slanderous editorial called for an election by the workers, covering up the fact that we have been making that same call for genuine elections since the Teamsters bedded down with most of the Coachella grape growers last month:

"The history of the UFW and more particularly that of its leader, Cesar Chavez, has been characterized by an unyielding opposition to the secret ballot method of voting.

Its membership was hustled willy-nilly, protesting or no, into the ranks of the UFW without any pretense of secret balloting and if this is democracy as practiced by the UFW, then we simply don't understand the meaning of the word."

Is anyone naive enough to believe the results of the two "secret ballot elections" Teamster-style which have been held with lettuce growers recently?

1. The Packer (April 28,1973): "Field workers at Bud Antle, inc. voted 796 to 28 in a secret-ballot election to ratify a new three-year contract between the Salinas-based firm and Local 890 of the General Teamster and Warehousemen's Union....The elections were supervised by the union and by worker committees."

2. "Fresno Bee" (May 5,1973): "Aaron Moreno, D'Arrigo labor relations representative, announced Friday (May 4) that a neutral third party he would not name had counted the union cards at midnight Thursday. He said of the 363 workers in the fields, 217 had Teamster cards."

Several weeks ago, the Los Angeles Times (March 23, 1973) ran a letter to the editor from Bonnie Dorr in response to a story about another Teamster "contract":

"Editor: I nominate as Scrooge-of-the-Year the 'genius' behind the latest Teamsters' contract with the Funeral Directors Service Association of Chicago, whereby only vehicles driven by Teamster members may bring flowers into cemeteries (Times, March 15):

'...guards will be stationed at the gates of every Chicago area cemetery to enforce the union's new contract.... Family cars carrying flowers will not be permitted in the funeral procession.' Good grief."

While Western Conference of Teamsters boss Einar Mohn's statement that farm workers would not be able to play a role in the Teamster's union until there were more white members, is now legendary, additional racist remarks about farm workers came from ranch superintendent Mervyn Bailey in a hearing before the California Department of Industrial Relations in Salinas (Fresno Bee, May 4,1973) on whether to outlaw the infamous short-handled hoe. Bailey defended the use of El Cortito by saying:

"Mexican-Americans are smaller and more agile than the average Anglo. They seem to have a stronger body than we do. If these workers were given big hoes, they'd have something better to lean on."

And finally, another comment from our favorite Washington apple grower, George Ing, on how to deal with your work force ("The Good Fruit Grower," April 15,1973):

"You can never give too many directions. Whatever you say must be repeated, demonstrated and then reinforced as that phase of the work is entered....There is no such thing as too much supervision. Always assume from the start that the person is doing something wrong. The perfect worker is seldom found. It is your orchard, don't be afraid to have conflict to get things done correctly in it."

Books from El Taller Grafico

BASTA - A compelling pictorial history of the great moments of the grape strike including the famous march from Delano to Sacramento. #BAS - $2.00

CHAVEZ - Two articles by Peter Matthiessen are combined to give a through biographical sketch of Cesar Chavez. #NYA- .50¢

SAL SI PUEDES - A portrait of the farm worker movement and of Cesar Chavez. #SAL - $1.50

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today from Coachella to check on things. Coachella Perlettes are done but the Thompson Seedless harvest will go on for another three weeks or so. Fair success there and even though the crop is being picked, it's making the growers lose money.

July 5, 1973 -- Today I spent in the county elections office checking into the possibilities of recalling John McNally, a Delano-McFarland judge who's been really harsh towards our strikers. Cesar wants to recall him, but the prospects don't look too hot. Proposition 22 carried two to one against us in that district.

Tomorrow I'm going up to Stockton with David to see some church people who have been our intermediaries with Bob Gallo, company spokesman. Today he announced that the Teamsters had given him evidence that they represent the workers and he refuses an election. So we'll have to get him on the boycott.

July 6, 1973 -- This morning we left for Stockton at 5:30 a.m. for a 10:00 meeting. I had stayed over at David's house. A group of five or six priests and nuns from there and Modesto have been trying to act as mediators with Gallo. They met with him last Tuesday (today is Friday) to get his thoughts on the union and elections (which he refused) and then he had a press conference where he said that the Teamsters had shown him "proof" that they represent the workers. So the church people are trying to see him again to show him our evidence: 173 signed authorization cards of the 222 working at Gallo on April 18 when the contract expired. (Of the rest, 15-20 didn't want to sign and the others have left the area.)

So we came up to Stockton to meet with the church people and clarify our position and see what they'd do next. Gallo is a well known Catholic with a liberal image in the area, so maybe church and moral pressure might help, but he knows we represent the workers and he's just playing around.

On July 3, the company sent individual telegrams to each of the strikers, telling

them they were fired. Imagine that. That's real class -- and wealth. More than 100 telegrams:

"You did not come to work on Friday, June 29, 1973. We notified you on that day that if you did not go back to work on Saturday, June 30, 1973, a regular work day, you would be permanently replaced. You did not report for work on Saturday, June 30, 1973. We hired someone today to do your job and you have been permanently replaced."

The church people are trying for another meeting with Gallo, but he refuses to see them. I don't think it'll work. He hasn't signed with the Teamsters yet, so anything to give him second thought is OK. After that, it'll be all-out war.

One of the papers had a story on the Teamster goons. Apparently they've been called off -- I hope.

July 7, 1973 -- William Grami of the Teamsters sent a conciliatory telegram to Cesar. Good news, if it's true. And it may be -- no evidence of goons or violence for the past five or six days.

Today I put together an analysis of wine grape prices for the past three years and also did some more typing of past negotiating sessions. I've got enough things to work on for my remaining two or three weeks, but new projects are always coming up.

Cesar had a press conference in Phoenix yesterday (where the Arizona grape strike is apparently going very well) and he called for a Justice Department investigation of grower contributions to the Nixon campaign in return for such favors as the Immigration Service being soft on the use of illegals as strikebreakers and other such deals. Tenneco is one of the main companies in this regard. Jerry Cohen has a personal vendetta against them -- because they acted so "nice" to us in the past but then, in his view, were probably the prime force in pulling this screw job with the

Teamsters.

July 8, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I did some more typing of the Pik'd Rite strawberry negotiations. Tonight I saw two more movies: "Live and Let Die" and "The Mechanic."

July 9, 1973 -- Today I messed with the files some more and finished the strawberry contract notes. I've got a half-dozen other projects to get going on -- Gallo, Franzia, table and wine grape profits, and this afternoon Dolores called from New York for some information on lettuce industry anti-trust action, so I'm putting something together on that. And I've been getting calls from people wanting information on C. Arnholt Smith, Nixon's friend from San Diego, and Roberts Farms -- one guy is doing a story for The Door, the San Diego underground paper, and another for an article in Ramparts.

The picket lines have been quiet lately. No goons, but they're still arresting us for various injunction violations.

One piece of bad news last week was that Bill Kircher, Director of Organizing for the AFL-CIO, resigned and took a position as Washington representative of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders Union. That's a bad development for us, since he was our closest friend in the AFL-CIO hierarchy. With all that's been happening, that may indicate a severe split between George Meany and us, since he was our spokesman with him. It looks as if Meany forced him out.

We got a call from a small Tulare County grower -- Y. Balderas, 13 acres. He likes the union and wants to sign a contract with us. So David will meet with him next week. We're renewing anyone we can.

We also have meetings set with Franzia and Novitiate. Franzia will give us the kiss-off. They fired 20 strong union members today, so we're planning to strike them.

They'll follow whatever Gallo does. Novitiate may be OK. It's owned by the Jesuits and it's fairly small (30-40 workers at peak harvest). They'll have a real image problem if they go with the Teamsters.

July 10, 1973 -- Gallo announced this morning that he had signed a four-year contract with the Teamsters, that son of a bitch.

Tonight I was talking with a priest from Chicago who's visiting here. He's active in the Chicago boycott and also knows the secretary of the chief lawyer for Tenneco, a parishioner of his, who's been telling him some of the things they've been doing with the Teamsters. That lawyer, Lee Shaw, was one of the principal spokesmen for all the grape growers when we were negotiating in early April. She said he was very depressed when Tenneco went with the Teamsters -- something we thought Shaw had helped engineer.

Tomorrow David plans to sign up a small Tulare County grower -- Y. Balderas, only 13 acres -- but we're taking anyone.

We also got word that Henry Macchiaroli, a 100-acre grower from Arizona, wants to sign. So we may be driving to Phoenix Thursday, two days from now, to talk with him.

Cesar has a meeting and rally tonight with the Gallo workers in Livingston. The Franzia workers will soon be striking because of the 21 firings last Monday.

July 11, 1973 -- More work on miscellaneous projects today, including lettuce and also Franzia. I also sent Cesar and Jerry Cohen a memo on what I had heard on Lee Shaw of Tenneco and the Teamster development.

July 12, 1973 -- John Bank arrived at La Paz today. His nose looks better than it used to. Jane Schulte, who has worked with the Cincinnati boycott since 1970, was with him. She's on vacation and has been in Coachella since last Friday or so and has

to go back to Cincinnati next week.

Tomorrow we're off to Arizona to talk with one of the growers there.

We struck Franzia today and he called to cancel our meeting for tomorrow, saying the Teamsters had made a claim of representation. 70 of his 78 workers walked out on strike. So he'll sign with the Teamsters soon, like Gallo.

July 13, 1973 -- David and I didn't go to Arizona today to talk with Henry Macchiaroli as we had planned. We couldn't get hold of the new head of our Arizona field office in Tolleson (Bob Cook) to see if a meeting had been set up. He has taken over for Gus Guttierrez (with whom we had stayed in February when we were doing the grape check).

So I finished a cost memo for Cesar showing that the break-even grape price for San Joaquin Thompson Seedless will be $5.25 this year. In Coachella it was $7.50 (because of higher costs there) and the growers really lost their shirts. The boycott forced prices down to the $5.00 range in the past several weeks. And the strike was effective in shortening the work force. I heard that Richard Peters (Superior Farming Company) had to sell his Thompsons for wine, at an even lower price, because he couldn't get workers.

Cesar sent a memo to the UFW Board on the impact of the strike. He included a note on a possible imminent deal between George Meany and the Teamsters for them to get out of all of agriculture -- a rumor, but it could be really good. John Bank told me that it came from him. A reporter from the LA Times told him, and he passed it on to Cesar.

There was a rally in the Lamont city park tonight. About 1,000 workers were there, plus 45 or so priests and 10-15 nuns from all over the country, who came to show their solidarity. There was a Mass, and various people spoke. John Coleman

Bennett, formerly of Union Theological Seminary and now with the Rheinhold Niebuhr Foundation presented Cesar with their annual Rheinhold Niebuhr Award. (Last year it went jointly to Theodore Hesburgh of Notre Dame and Chancellor Willy Brandt -- it's pretty prestigious.) Usually he doesn't accept awards, but this one also had money -- several thousand, which we can use -- and the publicity is good for us, too.

July 14, 1973 -- Today is my 33rd birthday. I wrote an article for El Malcriado on the whole Gallo situation. It's called "The Chicken Declares War on the Eagle."

July 15, 1973 -- Today (Sunday) I caught up on the newspapers and organized the files.

July 16, 1973 -- Things are happening with Giumarra and the Delano group (who represent 40% of the table grape production in California). We met with them yesterday -- just Cesar, Jerry, and David for us -- and again today. Lots of talk about the hiring hall and the seniority system, which they don't like, but it may turn out OK. The Coachella growers really got killed by the boycott and Giumarra knows that. So it looks good. The contract with the Delano group expires July 29.

Today I worked on some profit figures for the Arvin, Delano, and Fresno grape growers. They had a tremendous year in 1972, with profits in the $2.10/box range for Arvin, $2.85 for Delano, and $1.95 for Fresno. So we should have good arguments when they finally negotiate.

I heard Saturday that Bill Grami, Director of Organizing for the Western Conference of Teamsters and architect of the current sellout and war on us, had been moved out to another position in the Teamsters' organization. That's a good sign that something may be happening soon.

July 17, 1973 -- I got a lot done today -- all kinds of projects and reports. An outline on Giumarra Vineyards Corporation, the biggest grape grower of all and the key

to the Delano bunch. He made $4 million from table grapes last year (after losing $80,000 from the boycott in 1967 and again in 1969). I caught Cesar coming out of the john and gave it to him. He was happy to hear that they'd made so much money last year -- $2.50 a box or so.

Then I put together some things on lettuce for Dolores and one of our lawyers in New York. They're planning to sue the lettuce industry for conspiracy in restraint of trade (like the oil companies) for forcing shortages to shoot prices up. Then I did a report on Novitiate of Los Gatos, a small wine company owned by the Jesuits, with whom we've had a contract since 1967. It was a wage analysis comparing him to Almaden (who's been paying much higher rates) to show how much Novitiate has saved in money ($29,000) so we'll have some economic arguments to use with him in the negotiations which start tomorrow.

We shouldn't have any trouble getting this one renewed. He has only 27 workers at peak harvest, just a few year-round, and 32,000 hours total. (Gallo has 500 at peak, 150-200 year-round, and 500,000 union hours.) Novitiate signed in 1967 not from a strike or boycott threat but only because the industry was all signing up, and he has an image to think of and perhaps was genuinely influenced by the moral considerations. But already the priest who runs the vineyards has complained that he paid too much money in harvest wages last year. (It's based on a sliding scale of various piece rates for each variety of grapes, some of which are harder to pick than others.) He says it came out to something like $5.50 per hour on the average. So it won't be easy just to sign him up again. But we would all be really surprised if he refused to renew or went with the Teamsters.

Franzia announced today that they signed with the Teamsters yesterday. No surprise. They went for the same terms as Gallo: a four-year contract starting at $2.76

The Chicken declares war on the Eagle

by Jim Horgan

"For four historic decades, the house of E. & J. Gallo Winery has proudly carried on its family crest the picture of a chicken."

"Did you say a chicken?" I asked in disbellef.

"That's right," he said, "A chicken. It has something to do with the meaning of the word 'gallo' in Italian. SPANISH, TOO. Well, it seems that a couple of weeks ago, the chicken made a deal with the truckers to hand them over the 500 farm workers who work the chicken's ranches in Livingston, Snelling, Modesto, and Fresno."

"How can that be?" I said. "Has the chicken taken leave of his senses?"

"Maybe," he answered. "But it's more cold-blooded than that."

"I understand he's very big," I interrupted.

"That's certainly true. The chicken is by far the largest wine maker in the country ," he continued. "The United States consumed 337 million gallons of wine in 1972. The chicken produced 109 million gallons of that--that's 33%. And of U.S.-made wine, excluding imports, 290 million gallons were produced--the chicken had 37.6% of that.

"And of California-made wine, there were 237.9 million gallons--the chicken had 45.8 % of that. There are 462 wineries in this country, 258 of them in California. Here is one company with three wineries making more than a third of all the wine produced in the country."

"That sounds like a monopoly," I suggested. "Aren't there laws against that?"

"Well, there was an article in Barron's last December that the Federal Trade Commision was conducting a study of his pricing practices. But that hasn't gotten anywhere yet."

"Maybe we should call in Ralph Nader. But tell me how he got to be so big," I asked.

"Times Magazine Time Magazine mentioned some things in a cover story last fall. His salesmen have a reputation for ruthlessness, tough-talking retailers into giving his stuff more shelf space. And offering irresistable deals like a month's free supply in return for a good display of the product.

"Look in the wine section of any supermarket--they succeeded. Besides this aggressive marketing, the chicken produces low-priced wines of more or less popular quality, which he's been trying to upgrade in recent years. He also has a knack for anticipating consumer trends, like pop wine, for example."

"It's a loose category of light, sweet wines, usually flavored with fruits other than grapes, generally carbonated and having 9% to 11% alcohol, whereas most table wine has around 14% and most dessert wine 20%. It's like soda pop. An very popular, especially on the college campuses, among young people generally, and among women.

"And the chicken dominates this market even more than he controls the standard wine market. He produces the number one pop in the country -- Boone's Farm, which comes in Apple, Strawberry Hill, and Wild Mountain Grape, plus Tyrolia, Spanada, Thunderbird and Ripple, all the leading labels.

"This is a big market for him too. 67% of his case sales in Ohio in January of 1972, for example, were pop wines. In addition to his heavy-handed direct sales tactics, he uses saturation TV advertising--$7 million in 1971, three times as much as his closest competitor--and most of that went into Boone's Farm.

"His thinking there is to suck people into drinking wine and then as they get the habit, move them up to better quality, more expensive grape table wines. Recently he's been pushing Hearty Burgundy, Chablis Blanc, and Pink Chablis, again attempting to anticipate and stimulate the consumer trend."

"With all of this, he must have a pretty profitable operation," I said.

"Time Magazine's estimate put it at $35 to $40 million profit in 1971. It's probably close to $45 million for 1972."

"The stockholders must be very happy," I said.

"They sure are. There's only a handful of them--all Gallo family members. It's a completely chicken-owned outfit."

"He can buy a lot of land with that kind of money," I offered.

"Yes. He owns about 9,500 acres right now. 5,500 in wine grapes and 1,500 in apples, with the rest open land for later plantings. The apple plantings, by the way, indicate what a major part Boone's Farm Apple Wine has in company sales.

"He also makes a straight 20% alcohol apple wine called Triple Jack. Besides this, the chicken buys nearly one third of the California wine grape crop--about 70,000 acres worth--from growers with whom he generally has three-year contract agreements.

"For his own holdings, he employs 450-500 workers at peak harvest and he has about 150 working year-round. But now that the truckers are there, most of that will be mechanically harvested -- the apples for sure, and some of the grapes, too."

"Where does he sell this 109 million gallons of wine?" I asked.

"He doesn't make that known, of course, but it's not hard to discover," he responded. "Supermarkets sell most of it. And the chicken so dominates the US wine market, selling one out of every three bottles sold, that his geographic distribution is about the same as the pattern for all US wine sales.

"According to the Wine Institute, California buys 21.7% of all wine sold in the US. Then comes New York with 13.1%, Illinois 5.4%, New Jersey 5.1%, Pennsylvania 4.0%, Florida 3.9%, Michigan 3.7%, Texas 3.4%, Ohio 3.3%, and Massachusetts 3.3%."

"Isn't it true that there are strong boycott committees in all those states?" I asked.

"That's right. And Gallo wine is the easiest thing to boycott. It's by far the best commodity the farm workers' union has to boycott. Much easier than grapes or lettuce. First of all, it's everywhere, and the Gallo name is well known and readily identifiable in the public mind. It's hard to boycott something no one ever heard of and can't find anyway.

"Secondly, and this is where it differs from table grapes and lettuce," he said, "there is plenty of comparable union wine around which you can ask people to switch to. Especially Italian Swiss Colony, made by Heublein. That's the chicken's chief competitor, and it makes the same kind of popularly priced table and dessert wines.

"Harlem Securities Corporation put out a study last month showing that the 18-to-34 age group buys one-third of the wine sold in the country, twice as much as any other group. Pop wine is a big factor, especially among the college kids, and Boone's Farm could really be stung in the event of a Gallo boycott.

"Also, more than 40% of the wine is sold in Eastern and Midwestern markets where the union has always had solid support, not forgetting Los Angeles and San Francisco, leading consumers in the large California market. Organized labor is very strong in those areas, as well.

"Add to this the support of the church groups. Gallo is a prominent Catholic family. Heavy church contributors. How do you think their unprincipled action in dealing with their workers is going to sit with the union's church supporters, especially with Gallo claiming such religious connections?"

"You make a convincing case," I had to admit. "But if what you say is true, why would the chicken have done such a stupid thing, not to mention its callousness? He must have some intelligence to have grown so large and made all that money."

"Rich doesn't mean intelligent," he answered. "Rich is closer to arrogant. The chicken is gambling that the Union is too heavily involved with table grapes and lettuce to take him on succussfully. He probably got together with the other growers last year to plan their campaign to kill the Union. The opening shot was chief trucker Frank Fitzsimmons' speech at the Farm Bureau convention last December."

"That did strike me a little odd," I said. "A union man speaking at a growers' convention."

"Not at all. Just part of the plot. And don't dignify him by calling him a 'union man'. That just confuses the issue. So the growers and the truckers made their alliance, with the collusion of the Nixon Administration, who had promised support. The Teamsters' chuminess and back-room deals with the White House are well-known. And with Nixon's help, they felt they could pull off the greatest sell-out in the history of the labor movement."

"Haven't they been watching television lately?" I interjected.

"Even so, the growers and especially the chicken, hope for lots of help from Nixon-- union-busting legislation, soft Border Patrol enforcement against using illegals as strikebreakers, influence in the courts, restrictive NLRB rulings on the boycott, distortion in the Republican press, along with closing their eyes to the to the monopoly aspects and other corporate favors. It's quite a conspiracy."

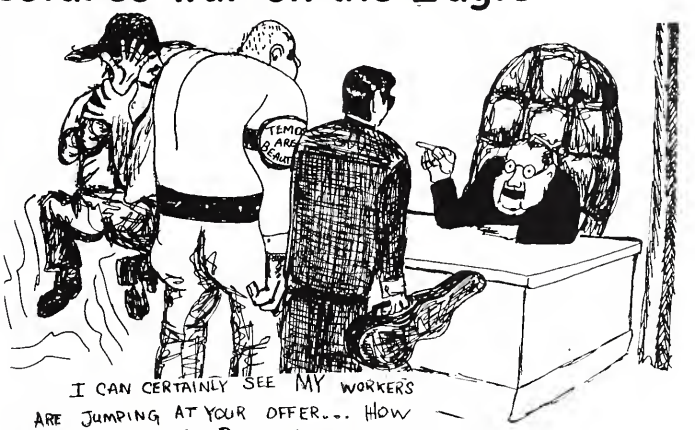
"It certainly is," I said. "Could you give me those labels again?"

"The chicken makes table and dessert wines under the names Gallo, Paisano, Thunderbird, Carlo Rossi, Eden Roc, and Red Mountain. The pop wines are Boone's Farm, Spanada, Tyrolla, Thunderbird and Ripple.

"Sparkling wine, champagne, and Cold Duck come out under the Gallo, Eden Roc, and Andre labels. His vermouth has the Gallo name, brandy is labeled Eden Roc, and that special apple wine is called Triple Jack. And look for the name 'Modesto, California' on any other label. If it's from Modesto, it's Gallo."

"Well, that's quite a story. How do you think it will turn out?"

"Did you ever hear of any chicken who won a fight with an eagle."



for general labor.

The strike continues at Franzia and at Gallo, and with 1,000 strikers in tree fruit in Fresno and late last week 350 cantaloupe strikers in Firebaugh (whom we never had before), and in lettuce at Bruce Church in Salinas and Mel Finerman in Colorado, and in strawberries in Santa Maria at Security Farms, and in table grapes in Arvin and Lamont, Poplar, and the non-July 29 Delano growers. So we have strikes up the ass. But they're really being successful, with more and more coming out every day.

July 18, 1973 -- Today David and I drove up to Turlock to meet with Novitiate of Los Gatos. I stayed over at his house and we left Bakersfield this morning at 5:30 for the 10:30 meeting.

There were three Jesuit priests, a lawyer, and their ranch supervisor. The tone was pleasant, but they complained about our high harvest rates last year, saying they lost $58,000 and stressing that they may have to use machine harvest this year. So it's going to be a fight to get a contract, but no problems with the Teamsters. This is our smallest wine company (specializing in altar wines), with only 27 workers at peak.

Then we drove down to Bakersfield and caught Cesar just having finished the day's session with Giumarra and the Delano group, which continues to look good. Cesar was giving a wide-ranging interview to a reporter when we came into the motel room, and it was interesting to hear.

The reporter was saying that he had heard about complaints from our members about "heavy-handed UFW treatment" and as a consequence some people were saying we couldn't win an election. Cesar replied: "The simple answer is give us elections." And on a question about rumored meetings between Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters and Meany of the AFL-CIO which might result in an all-of-a-sudden-out-of-the-sky settlement, he answered: "Nothing happens in life like that. There've been meetings,

but I don't know the details of any agreements, if any. We're in touch with them." And did we lose the strike in Coachella? "No. Farm workers don't lose strikes. We never say, 'If we don't win there, we're finished.' The growers have money; we have time. And we'll keep fighting till we win." And other interesting things -- that race was a big part of this (the reporter was black), and more.

Then we went over to the Kern County Sheriff's Department, where 500-700 of our strikers were jailed this morning for violating a restrictive injunction that said pickets must stay 100 feet apart from one another. The violation was deliberate, since we regard the injunction as unjust and dangerous (in light of the violence against strikers). It was a classic action of civil disobedience. And Cesar wants to turn back the burden and put it on Kern County, which has to pay thousands of dollars a day to feed the arrested strikers.

John Bank said Mass just outside the jail for 700 or so ralliers. Cesar spoke, and there was much singing, and praying, and shouts of "Huelga," including from the prisoners inside the jail. Very good spirit.

July 19, 1973 -- Lots of activity today. I've got eight or nine things I want to get done before I have to leave in a week and a half, so I'm trying to turn them out as quickly as possible.

Today it was cost and profit sheets for Arvin-Lamont, Delano, and Fresno. Also a list of the 47 growers who have gone with the Teamsters so far: 27 in Coachella on April 15; 17 in Arvin-Lamont and Poplar on May 1; Roberts Farms, the giant, on June 21; Gallo on July 10; and Franzia July 16. Then a profile on Novitiate, a cost analysis, and the typing of yesterday's negotiation notes.

I still want to do a Gallo digest, a Franzia report, and one on Superior Farming Company, then put together all our stuff on Roberts Farms, answer requests for

material on Roberts from a couple of magazines and papers (Ramparts and The Door in San Diego), and summarize three Arizona growers and five or six Madera County growers. Then I want to prepare a research manual before I leave and also write a final report for Bob Peterson of Saint Leo.

This morning I talked with a young reporter from Germany who's doing a story for a radio station there. I spoke to him for an hour and a half, which he taped: things on growers' size and profits and influence, workers' conditions, general statistics, and a rundown on what the union had done for workers to change their lives.

July 20, 1973 -- Things are looking up. 439 or so strikers were arrested in Arvin-Lamont two days ago (and released today), 500 in Fresno yesterday, and 400 more there today. But their spirit is really high.

There was another session with the Delano growers today and tonight. They know how badly the Coachella growers lost, so they may go with us when their contract expires July 29. I haven't been in on the talks, but I did an analysis on Giumarra the other day, and a Delano profit study ($2.85 a box last year). Tonight I worked up some figures with Frank Denison, one of our lawyers, on what the Delano group owes the Farm Workers Fund (at two cents a box), which they've refused to pay since 1970 -- about $400,000. And I've been churning out reports like mad in the past few days, so I can finish what I want to do before I have to leave.

This was the last of my commentary. In my remaining ten days with the union, I completed various studies and wrapped up loose ends. I did participate in one of the last negotiating sessions with the Delano growers on July 28. During a break, when the growers left the room to discuss one of the issues, Cesar put on an impromptu show for our large team of 15-20 workers and negotiating staff. Pantomiming Douglas Fairbanks

Jr., he played out a mock sword fight with the growers, at one point leaping onto the table, and then jumping down and pretending to tip over the table at the end, as he vanquished them. As it turned out, the talks did not conclude in a contract.

Since I was on sabbatical leave from Saint Leo College, I sent periodic reports on my activities to academic vice president Robert Peterson -- three altogether: December 21, 1972; March 11, 1973; and October 3, 1973. The last one brings the story forward through the terrible summer of 1973.

That was the worst year in the UFW's history and brought the union to its lowest point, from which it has somewhat recovered, especially after the state of California passed a law in 1975 calling for compulsory union elections and negotiations.

In the summer of 1972, the United Farm Workers Union had approximately 180 labor contracts covering 39,000 workers. By the summer of 1973, it had been reduced to only 12 contracts, covering some 6,500 workers.

I left La Paz on July 30, 1973, and I have continued to be active with the UFW since that time.

James J. Horgan

San Antonio, Florida

July 5, 1994

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

December 21, 1972

Dr. Robert H. Peterson
Vice-President for Academic Affairs
Saint Leo College
Saint Leo, Florida 33574

Dear Bob:

Since I've been here working for the United Farm Workers for nearly six months, I'd like to give you a report on what I've been doing and what's been happening in general with the union.

The union headquarters here is very much like the Saint Leo campus. Weive got about 200 acres of land with two dozen buildings for offices and housing (years ago it was a TB hospital), which the union bought in 1970. There are about 75 people working here in 20 or so departments (administration, organizing, boycott central, field offices central, legislation, legal, negotiations, research, insurance plan, credit union, El Malcriado newspaper, education, health group, membership, accounting, data processing, transportation, maintenance, and a few others). Besides the national headquarters operation, we have boycott staffs in 21 cities throughout the country and we run about 25 field offices and hiring halls servicing our 170 or so table grape, wine grape, lettuce, vegetable, and citrus contracts covering our 58,000 farm worker members in California, Arizona, and Florida, with a few in Colorado as well. Althgether, we have a staff of about 350-400 people working here, in the field offices, and on the boycott.

Since I got here in early July, we've had a number of campaigns which have involved almost all of us from time to time.

1.Lettuce Boycott -- this has been our main focus since this spring all around the country. It was particularly boosted by publicity at the Democratic National Convention in July, as you may remember. We have a big push on it now, and we've gotten pledge cards from 350,000 people across the country saying they won't eat non-union lettuce and several agreements from chain stores to carry only UFW-harvested lettuce.

2. White River Farms Strike and Boycott -- from June to August we tried to negotiate the nenewal of the very first contract we ever got (covering Schenley Industries wine grape workers). Schenley sold its 5000-acre vineyard last year to Buttes Gas & Oil Company which now operates it under the name White River Farms. When our contract expired, they refused to renew it and decided to try and break the union there. So when the negotiations broke down, we began a strike in late August (which they fought with strikebreakers and inflated wages just to get their harvest in). Last month, 48 strikers and their families left their homes to go to Wisconsin to carry on a boycott of Guild Wine and brandy (made from White River grapes and for which Wisconsin is a key market). They really have the spirit to carry on like that, and the latest reports we have show much success for them in getting people not to buy Guild products and getting stores not to stock it.

3. InterHarvest Lettuce Contract Renewal -- this is the largest lettuce grower in the world (a division of United Brands -- chiquita bananas) and our 1970 contract with them covering 1500 workers expired

at the end of August. We finally had to have a 10-day strike in September to get them to renew it for another 3 years. The increased wages and benefits amount to about 13%, totalling nearly $3,500,000 over the three years. So it was a good victory for the workers.

4. Proposition 22 -- this was about the most serious battle the union has had in its 10-year history. Proposition 22 was a proposal on the November California ballot to enact a law which would have destroyed the union. If it had passed, there would have been no right to strike, no primary boycotts ("Please Don't Buy Non-Union Lettuce"), no secondary boycotts ("Please Don't Shop at this Store"), no rights for workers to vote in union elections, no rights to negotiate contract terms, and all of this to be coordinated by a 5-member Agricultural Labor Relations Board appointed by Gov. Reagan (no friend of farm workers). It was a beautiful proposal, put on the ballot by the Farm Bureau, which got 350,000 people to sign initiative petitions to qualify it, mainly through the use of fraud and distortion over its complex terminology ("Sign this petition to lower food prices;" "Help the Farm Workers Get Secret Ballot Elections;" "Cesar Chavez Supports this Law"). We had a permanent staff of 300 people organizing since early August all over the state to defeat it, supplemented on weekends by hundreds of farm workers who went into LA and San Francisco from the rural areas to work against the initiative. The growers used all kinds of distortion in advertising on it and spent $750,000 altogether, especially on a blitz of TV and radio ads making it appear that the union and the workers favored the law. We leafleted all over the state, filed court suits, got lots of press time, used human billboards on freeway ramps and busy intersections in LA with giant signs saying "Farm Workers Say No on 22." When it was over, the voters defeated it by 58% to 42% -- 4½ million to 3 1/3 million votes. So it really shows that the public supports the union and what it is doing. And it really shows what a grassroots job of serious people organizing can do in a political battle.

5. Contract Renewals for Freshpict, D'Arrigo, and Walsh -- then while 22 was occupying all of our time (we had virtually closed down our operation here and sent everyone around the state), threemmore of our 1970 contracts expired, two in lettuce and the other in strawberries. They all were waiting for Proposition 22 to kill the union, and even since the election they've made no serious effort at renegotiations. So we have a strike at one of them, and talks are more or less continuing with the others.

6. Arizona Recall of Governor Williams -- all summer long our people in Arizona have been gathering petition signatures in a campaign to recall the right-wing governor of Arizona, who pushed through a law similar to Proposition 22 last May. This was the occasion for Cesar's 25-day fast there. So far, we have 130,000 of the 103,000 needed, but we're shooting for 165,000 to make sure (figuring that the powers will disqualify many of them). This is another real grassroots effort, and when it succeeds, the people may have a more responsive governor and political structure next spring.

7. Teamsters -- Frank Fitzsimmons declared war on us again last month. He and the growers got married in 1970 when they signed back-door phoney contracts with nearly 200 Salinas lettuce growers, selling out 30,000 farm workers, who had no chance to choose whether or not they

wanted the Teamsters to represent them. A court order also forbade them to strike in protest. So they were locked in for 5 years under terms favorable to the growers (which is why the growers signed with the Teamsters rather than UFW). There's a renewed attack now, with talk of their renegotiating and enforcing those sham contracts and also getting into other farm labor crops. Its a hassle the union has had for the past several years, complicated now in a political play with George Meany, the Republicans, and the growers all ganging up with the Teamsters against the Farm Workers Union.

8. A & P and Safeway Boycotts -- these are the two largest grocery chains in the country, one covering the East with 4500 stores and the other blanketing the West with 2200 stores, each with sales of $5.5 billion. As a national program, we're now focussing on them in the lettuce boycott and urging people not to shop there till they agree to carry only UFW-harvested lettuce. The campaign started only this week and already we're having good results. Consumer pressure on them will ultimately have them put their enormous pressure on the growers to recognize the union that the farmworkers want.

So, that's in general what we've been doing. Lots of battles, but they're all encouraging because if no one fights you, you're probably not doing anything anyway. But if the vested interests really gang up on you, that's a sign that you're really bringing real change. And so far, with lots of hard, serious organizing and lots of public support, we've been successful. In spite of our struggles, the spirit is really high and the confidence is here.

For my own part in all of this, basically It's been research on the various things that have come up in the past six months and plans we have for the future. I've been working closely with David Burciaga of the Negotiations and also Dolores Huerta, Cesar's Administrative Assistant in charge of coordinating all the departments. I was in on the negotiations with White River Farms, InterHarvest, and Freshpict Foods and did research projects and various aspects in connection with them. I've been in lots of meetings with workers and I even have a little Spanish (mostly swear words) -- the bulk of our membership here are chicanos, but we also have many Anglos, blacks, Filipinos, and Arabs. Besides the negotiations stuff, I've picketed and leafletted in strikes and on Proposition 22 (as all of us here have), set up projects for long-range studies we're interested in, and done lots of traveling all over the state checking out corporate research.

It's been a real education. The people here are tremendous, especially Cesar, who's always teaching and listening, too, and has intelligence, pragmatism, humor, and charisma (whatever that is). The whole thing is an amazing movement, and I'M glad I've had a chance to be part of it.

Here are a couple of issues of our newspaper (two with pictures and one with an article) -- at least they verify that I've been on the job.

Give my best to the people at Saint Leo. I'll have another report in a couple of months.

Sincerely,

UNITED FARM WORKERS ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, AFL-CIO

CESAR CHAVEZ
Director
LARRY ITLIONG
Asst. Director

BOYCOTT CENTRAL

March 11, 1973

P.O. Box 62
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Dr. Robert H. Peterson
Vice-President for Academic Affairs
Saint Leo College
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Dear Bob:

I'm returning my contract for 1973-1974, and I'd like to fill you in on what's been happening with the union and what I've been doing for the past two and a half months since my last report.

1. Lettuce Boycott: A & P and Safeway -- This continues to be the main focus of the union. In the East our pickets and leafleters are at A & P and in the West at Safeway, asking people not to shop there until the chains agree to carry only UFW lettuce. We've also gotten into broader consumer issues by exposing these stores' particular habit of mislabeling cuts of meat, selling hamburger with illegal fat content, not giving customers price cuts on advertised specials, and all kinds of other tricks they pull. The chains are feeling the pressure of the boycott, and a number of lawsuits and counter suits have been filed.

Also in this connection, as you may have read, a few weeks ago, several carlots of poisoned lettuce were shipped from the Imperial Valley to a number of cities in the US and Canada. They were contaminated with Monitor 4, a newly developed organo-phosphate of the Parathion (nerve gas) group. It was sprayed over thousands of acres and failed to dissipate because of the cold weather in the souhtern part of the state. As a result, and because of the negligence of the chemical companies, the Food and Drug Administration, and the USDA Inspection Service, numerous farm workers suffered burns and other injuries from handling it, and people came down sick before the agencies realized what had happened. Much of it was then seized, but not before thousands of heads had been eaten. To top this off, the USDA allowed stores to "recondition" it (by pulling off some of the outer leaves until they thought they had gotten rid of the poison) and sell it to the public. Lots of suits have been filed over this, and the California Assembly opened hearings last week on it. Monitor 4 has been suspended by the FDA for use on lettuce, but it's still being widely used on broccoli, carrots, brussel sprouts, cauliflower, and potatoes. So watch what you eat.

2. Cesar's Tour -- In February, Cesar went on a three-week speaking tour across the country, along with 67 lettuce strikers from D'Arrigo Brothers Company, who refused to renew their contract with us when it expired last November. The strikers were going out on the boycott to Chicago, Boston, and New York, where they'll stay working for consumer support and putting economic pressure on D'Arrigo until they sign (just as the White River Farms strikers are pressuring Guild Wines in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and cleaning it out of the liquor stores in those states). Cesar got lots of media coverage and gave several speeches a day in addition, particularly hitting the Monitor 4 issue, and when he returned he told us at a community meeting that he was amazed at the public response.

He said he felt there was more public awareness and support than he had seen for the grape boycott when he made a similar speaking tour in 1969.

3. Strikes -- Besides D'Arrigo and White River Farms, we have been forced to strike the Dave Walsh Company in Salinas strawberries and Cochise Farms in Douglas, Arizona peaches because the companies no longer recognize the workers' union and have refused to sign or renew their contract. In addition, negotiations are stalled with Freshpict Foods, whose contract expired last October. Strikes in agriculture are always extremely difficult to win because of the enormous grower power in getting court injunctions, recruiting strikebreakers, and intimidating the workers, so the boycott remains the union's strongest weapon. But the workers are much better organized than they were a few years ago and they've lost their fear because they've seen the contracts that they've won, although even so a strike is always a hard struggle.

4. Table Grape Negotiations -- The 130-140 contracts that we got through the Grape Boycott in 1970 all begin expiring on April 15 of this year. So getting them renewed is our main immediate concern, and that's what I've been spending all my time on these past two months. About 30,000 workers are involved, in Arizona and in the Coachella and San Joaquin Valleys in California. We've had meetings in all the areas with the workers, where Cesar and David Burciaga, our chief negotiator, held discussions on the procedure for the negotiations and got information on workers' problems and what they felt our proposals should be. They also elected negotiating committees who will meet with the companies in each area to work out the contract. The Teamsters are again nosing around with the growers, perhaps trying to pull off the same sweetheart deal they did in lettuce in 1970.

What I've been doing in all this is gathering information on the growers, with the help of two new people who joined our Research Department in January. We spent a month in the Coachella Valley (in the southern part of the state, about 100 miles north of the Mexican border), digging into the records, talking with workers, checking land and crops, getting information from our field office staff, and interviewing the growers themselves. Then we put together reports on each of the 28 companies we have contracts with there, representing 100% of the 3 million 22-pound lugs of table grapes that are harvested in Coachella each year. Then we spent 3 days in Arizona doing the same thing with our 4 growers there, and now we're in Fresno in the center of California researching our 43 companies in that area, and after that Poplar, Lamont, and Delano. It's really an interesting project but very time-consuming and with a deadline that comes up soon. Preliminary negotiating sessions have started last week, and we probably will be helping out with them as we complete our research.

So, I'm learning a lot and I'm having a tremendous experience, and I'm also editing a column called "Cowpies from the Growers" in our newspaper El Malcriado. It's a collection of comments from growers' magazines (see the enclosed unfortunately unbylined article).

I'll sent you another report in a couple of months. Give my best to everyone at Saint Leo.

Sincerely,

UNITED FARM WORKERS, AFL-CIO
P.O. Box 62 • Keene, Ca. 93531

October 3, 1973

Dr. Robert H. Peterson
Vice-President for Academic Affairs
Saint Leo College

Dear Bob:

Here's the final report I've finally found time to put together on my sabbatical with the United Farm Workers Union. I've been back now for two months, and I want to bring you up to date on what's been happening with the union since the last report I sent you in March. And I'd like to summarize my reactions to it all.

In the past few months, the union has experienced the greatest crisis in its eleven-year history. As you know, the California table grape growers, with only two exceptions, refused to renew the three-year contracts they had signed with the UFW in 1970 as a result of the first Grape Strike and Boycott. Those contracts with some 135 growers representing 95% of the table grape industry.began expiring in April. 30,000 workers had been covered by the agreements. Instead of following the clear wishes of their workers, the growers either invited the Teamsters in and signed sweetheart contracts with them or tried to sit back and quietly dump the union.

While the union has had contracts covering lettuce, mixed vegetable, strawberry, peach, wine grape, date, apricot, plum, and citrus workers, table grapes has always been the center of the union's strength, with at one time more than 160 of its nearly 180 contracts and 30,000 of its 39,000 members. Officially, in terms of current contracts, the union has been reduced to twelve agreements covering approximately 6,500 workers (one lettuce and vegetables, one citrus, one strawberry, two table grape, and seven wine grape growers). But in spite of the crisis, the union is far from dead, no matter what the press may be implying. The Teamsters may have the contracts, but the UFW has the workers. The picket lines and the rallies testify to that. Cesar Chavez says of this: "We will strike, boycott, picket, march, sacrifice, and struggle for as long as it takes." I heard him tell a reporter last July: "The growers have money. We have time. Time is our money."

The union strongly believes that what happened this spring was the result of a long-planned conspiracy. The UFW started losing contracts during the summer of 1972 when first a wine grower and then two lettuce growers and a strawberry grower refused to renew their contracts. While they were stalling the union, they were hoping that Proposition 22, that extremely restrictive agricultural labor initiative I wrote you earlier about, would pass and destroy the union, but it was rejected overwhelmingly by the California voters in the November election. Then in December, Frank Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters was the featured speaker at the national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation in Los Angeles, the group which has long been the most virulent opponent of unionization in agriculture. Fotzsimmons appearance, according to the Los Angeles Times, was arranged by Lawrence Silberman, President Nixon's Undersecretary of Labor. It's no secret that the Teamsters are the Administration's "house union:" Fitzsimmons' staying

when George Meany and the other labor chiefs left the Pay Board in protest last year; the Hoffa pardon; heavy campaign contributions said to be in the $300,000-plus range; meetings at San Clemente between Fitzsimmons and Nixon; cross-country flights together on Air Force One; and now Charles Colson, former Special Assistant to the President and author of the "enemies list," has the Teamsters' legal account, worth $100,000 a year according to Time Magazine.

Nixon himself is known for his hostility to the United Farm Workers Union. He was pictured publicly eating grapes in 1968 during the first Grape Boycott. His Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz, has called crop boycotts "vicious and unamerican" (in spite of a boycott tradition which goes back to the American Revolution). His Republican-controlled National Labor Relations Board tried unsuccessfully to strip the union of its right to use secondary boycotts last year. He aids Big Agribusiness with hugely profitable grain deals while at the same time vetoing minimum wage protection and sponsoring restrictive union-busting legislation. This is not simply an honest difference of opinion with the UFW on how to attain social progress. The UFW believes it's a conscious effort to kill the farm workers' union.

Hence the union's interpretation of its current troubles as the result of a conspiracy of the growers, the Teamsters, and the Nixon Administration.

The growers, for the most part, have not mentally "accepted" the union yet. When they did sign contracts with the union, it was always because of the economic pressure of a strike and boycott, and not through any sense of moral justice on their part. In contrast to most other industries, they don't believe that agricultural unions are here to stay. And so, rather than accept the fact that employers and unionized employees have to work together to solve mutual problems, the growers are bent on destroying the UFW.

Their principal weapon is the Teamsters, which may be a good union for truck drivers, but which is nothing more than a tool of repression for farm workers. It is a company union which deprives the workers of the genuine protection they had with the UFW -- no hiring hall, no real grievance procedure, no seniority system, no protection against the reckless use of pesticides, and the stripping of numerous other benefits. That's why the growers like the Teamsters. It's not a union at all. And the farm workers have no choice in the matter. Industrial workers are protected against such things by the National Labor Relations Act, which outlaws unfair labor practices. No industrial company can sign a contract with a union without the vote of the workers. But in agriculture, there are no such laws. And so the companies are free to recognize and sign a "legal" contract with anyone they want as the representative for their workers, even though the workers clearly do not want that choice.

The Teamsters benefit by getting all that dues money ($7.00 a month from thousands of workers) and by enhancing their control over agriculture (in which they already have all the truck drivers and most of the cannery workers).

As for help from the Administration, there clearly has been active support, if not an actual conspiracy. Evidence for this is the lax enforcement by the Border Patrol of laws against illegal aliens ("wet-backs") from Mexico who are widely used to break strikes; influence in the courts for restrictive anti-strike injunctions; massive purchases

by the Defense Department of boycotted grapes and lettuce; a push for legislation in Congress and in several state legislatures (especially California, Arizona, and Florida) to outlaw harvest strikes and boycotts; and the previously mentioned public attacks on the UFW by public officials like Secretary Butz and President Nixon.

Essentially, the growers are betting that the union will be stretched too thin to take them on effectively on all fronts -- that the UFW cannot successfully strike 200 growers at once and especially that it cannot conduct consumer boycotts of lettuce, table grapes, wine, tree fruit, and strawberries at the same time. In addition, they hope the Teamster contracts will insulate them legally from the UFW, intimidate the strikers, and confuse the potential boycott-supporting consumers by claiming that their workers do have union representation and that the issue is only a "jurisdictional dispute" between two unions. Finally, they're banking on tangible governmental help from an Administration hostile to the UFW.

Now, as to specific events, what happened was that more than 100 of the UFW's table grape contracts expired on April 14. We had been negotiating on and off with the industry for their renewal since January. Only two agreed to renewal -- Lionel Steinberg and K. K. Larson -- after two all-night bargaining sessions which were concluded at 5:00 a. m. on April 15, with a fine package which will bring about $300,000 more to the 1,000 workers at the two companies during the next year. Twenty-seven other Coachella Valley growers announced their signing with the Teamsters on April 15, so the UFW called a strike the next day, and more than 1,000 workers walked out. The harvest started there (about 100 miles north of the Mexican border) in late May and went to early July, with a peak of only 1,200-1,500 workers, whereas more than 2,500 are normally needed for the harvest. For the first time, the UFW was able to pay decent strike benefits as a result of a contribution of $1.6 million from George Meany and the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, which assessed its general membership (14 million people) 4¢ a month for three months. The union paid $75 a week to each person who came out of the fields to join the strike, and later raised it to $90. Although the money was exhausted by mid-August, as a result of it, many workers supported the strike who might otherwise not have been able to do so. As it was, however, the growers were able to complete the harvest by widely using illegals, obtaining restrictive court injunctions limiting the number of pickets, and importing Teamstersgoons to terrorize the strikers.

Violence was heavy and widespread. A priest friend of mine, John Bank, with whom I worked in the Cincinnati Boycott in 1970, had his nose broken by a Teamster in a restaurant while he was having breakfast with a Wall Street Journal reporter. The goon, a 300-pounder named Mike Falco simply walked up and smashed him while he sat at the table. After Falco was arrested, he was released on $600 bond only to be re-arrested three weeks later for beating up a 60-year-old striker named Juan Hernandez with a lead pipe on the picket line. The Teamsters followed the cars of the strikers, ran them off the road, pulled people out of the cars, and beat them. Police protection for the pickets was completely inadequate.

So it was very difficult to carry on the strike, but as it was,

the Coachella Valley growers lost an estimated $4,000,000 from this needless war they created, through higher harvest costs for inexperienced workers, lower boycott-produced prices, and a host of other strike-related factors.

When that harvest finished in early July, the strike shifted to the San Joaquin Valley northeast of Los Angeles, where 18 more growers had signed with the Teamsters. The scene was the same, with more violence and even harsher injunctions (no pickets to be closer than 100 feet apart and no use of a bullhorn or sound system longer than one hour a day at any one point). The strike was broadened there to include not just table grapes but tree fruit and cantaloupes as well, as workers who had never had a union joined the strike, too. In July several thousand workers were on strike throughout the whole San Joaquin Valley. The sheriffs' departments tried to enforce the injunctions and by the end of the month more than 4,000 people had been arrested. The union's strategy was that if the grower-prone local courts were going to slap unconstitutional injunctions on the pickets to break the strike, the union would clog the jails with bodies in retaliation with non-violent civil disobedience. Priests and nuns and supporters from all over the country came into the area in a show of solidarity.

In the midst of this, two wine companies -- E. & J. Gallo and Franzia Brothers -- who had prospered under the UFW contracts since 1967, broke off their renewal talks and signed with the Teamsters in July. Shortly thereafter, eight Fresno area table grape growers also do so, bringing to 55 the number of growers who had gone with the Teamsters. So the strike continued.

As for my part in all of this, basically it was research and negotiations. I was Director of the Research Department. Four of us at this time were concentrating on researching the table grape and wine industries. We put together reports, charts, and statistics on individual growers, their holdings, profits, and other data which would help us negotiate more effectively with them. We also prepared numerous other reports for use by other departments of the union. I sat in on the negotiating sessions with the growers and presented our economic arguments.

Altogether, I was involved in some 50 negotiating sessions with companies, some with Cesar Chavez leading our presentation (principally in table grapes), but mostly with David Burciaga, the union's chief negotiator, handling our side, along with attorneys and a committee of workers participating as well. That was the most interesting aspect of what I was doing, and that is where I think what I did had the most impact. Cesar told me during the Steinberg talks, "That's the first time we ever got a grower that way." Prior to that, the union had usually negotiated in the dark, because of lack of research staff, not knowing the growers' profits or much other information, and thus just taking what it could get. But here we had solid information on the company's situation and were able to refute with facts his pleas of poverty and inability to pay the workers a decent increase (his profit had been nearly $800,000 in 1972).

Besides the research and negotiations, I also published several articles in the union's newspaper, including the enclosed piece on Gallo's callous decision to try and dump the union. I also spoke at

a number of colleges on the UFW, including putting together a paper for a Conference on Farm Labor held at the University of California at Davis, the major agricultural school in the state.

Since I left on July 30, the strike has been called off because of the deaths of two strikers, one killed on the picket line by a sniper in a passing truck, and another in a scuffle with a deputy sheriff. Instead, emphasis shifted to the nationwide consumer boycott, and nearly 1,000 strikers left California to work in various cities around the country organizing committeess to boycott table grapes, as well as non-union lettuce and Gallo wines, focussing on Safeway, the largest supermarket chain in the West, and A & P, the largest in the East. The union will only get those contracts back if it is effective on that front.

There have also been several meetings between Cesar and Fitzsimmons, with Meany mediating, to work out a settlement to get the Teamsters out of the fields. They have agreed to rescind 30 contracts they signed in mid-August with the Delano growers, but they have not yet renounced the 55 others they were given earlier. Resolution may come that way, but the UFW is not really counting on it. "Nothing happens in life like that," Chavez said once. And the union has had at least three similar agreements with the Teamsters dating back to 1967, but they haven't held up.

Overall, it was a remarkable experience for me. I had known a great deal about the union beforehand, but I learned much more, especially about its inner workings and general strategy. And I came at just the right time when what I could do was the most useful, more so than it would have been in 1971 or 1974. I'm now even more convinced of the justness of the farm workers' cause. I believe it to be the most effective social movement in recent US history because it has really resulted in a positive change in people's lives. And I'm glad that what I did made a contribution toward its success.

Sincerely,

James J. Horgan

James J. Horgan

James J. Horgan was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on July 14, 1940.

He received a Bachelor of Arts degree in philosophy from the Athenaeum of Ohio in 1962 summa cum laude, and both a Master of Arts in history in 1963 and a Ph. D. in history in 1965 from St. Louis University. He received a National Endowment for the Humanities grant for study at Vanderbilt University in the summer of 1975. In 1986, he received a fellowship in military history for study at West Point.

He has been a member of the faculty of Saint Leo College in Saint Leo, Florida, since 1965, where he is professor of history. From 1969 to 1991, he served as chair of the division of social science.

He is the author or editor of nine books: City of Flight (1984), The Reagan Years: Perspectives and Assessments (1988) (co-edited with Joseph A. Cernik), The Catholic Colony of San Antonio, Florida (1989), Pioneer College (1990), Centennial Collection (1990), The Letters of the Hand Family: San Antonio Colonists of the 1880's and 1890's (1992), Social Justice: The Teachings of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and Muslims (1992) (co-edited with Lucy Fuchs), The Historic Places of Pasco County (1992) (co-authored with Alice F. Hall and Edward J. Herrmann), and Florida Pathfinders (1994) (co-edited with Lewis N. Wynne).

In 1992, The Historic Places of Pasco County was cited for historical achievement by the Tampa Bay Regional Planning Council. The Letters of the Hand Family received the outstanding publication award from the Florida Historical Confederation of the Florida Historical Society in 1994.

In addition, he is the author of several articles on the U. S. presidency, American diplomatic history, and civil rights issues. From 1980 to 1987 he was a regular book reviewer for the Tampa Tribune. In 1992, he presented the Smithsonian Institution's "Seeds of Change" program on the 500th anniversary of the Columbian

encounter, under the sponsorship of the Florida Humanities Council. In 1993 and 1994, he presented the American Library Association's "Isabella's Sisters" program, under the sponsorship of the State Library of Florida.

He was a founder of the Saint Leo College Press in 1987 and since 1990 has served as its managing editor. From 1989 to 1991, he was president of the Pasco County Historical Society. In 1994, he was elected to the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society.

He was a founding officer of the Pasco County NAACP in 1968 and received a distinguished service award from the Florida NAACP in that same year. In 1969-1970, he was co-coordinator of the Saint Leo College-Florida Presbyterian College Upward Bound Program. In 1972-1973, he was national director of research for the United Farm Workers Union at La Paz in Keene, California. In 1986, he was cited for teaching excellence by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1987-1988, he was Saint Leo "CASE Professor of the Year," a program sponsored by the Council for the Advancement and Support of Education.

He makes his home in San Antonio, Florida.